THE MODERN WORLD

S. A. PAKEMAN

LIBRARY
No. 11/119
BANARAS

LIBRARY
No. 11119....
Shri Shr. ...yee Ashram
BANARAS

PRESENTED

LIBRARY
No............
Shri Shri Ma [illegible] mayee Ashram
BANARAS

THE MODERN WORLD

1789-1957

LIBRARY
No..........
Shri Shri [illegible] mayee Ashram
BENARAS

BY

S. A. PAKEMAN, C.B.E., M.C., M.A., (CANTAB.)
Late Professor of Modern History, University of Ceylon

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

PRESENTED

Dr. S. C. Bhattacharji

Fourth Edition. Revised and Enlarged

LONDON
MACMILLAN & CO LTD
NEW YORK · ST MARTIN'S PRESS
1958

Copyright © by S. A. Pakeman, 1958

First Edition 1931
Reprinted 1933, 1934, 1937
Second Edition 1938
Reprinted 1940, 1944
Third Edition 1945
Reprinted 1947, 1948
Fourth Edition 1958

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY LIMITED
London Bombay Calcutta Madras Melbourne

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA LIMITED
Toronto

ST. MARTIN'S PRESS INC
New York

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

LIBRARY
No.............
Shri Shri Ma [illegible]mayee Ashram
BANARAS.

AUTHOR'S NOTE TO FIRST EDITION

I wish to express my gratitude for valuable suggestions and encouragement from Mr. F. J. Weaver, late Honorary Secretary of the Historical Association, and from Mr. S. N. Godfrey, H.M.I. The late Mr. Rudyard Kipling kindly gave permission to use a quotation from one of his poems.

S. A. Pakeman

June, 1938

AUTHOR'S NOTE TO FOURTH EDITION

Since the Third Edition was published just at the end of the Second World War, many events of world-wide importance have taken place. It is still too early to see these events in their proper relation to each other, but I have tried to give a brief sketch of what happened during the Second World War and to relate what has happened since that time, in order to bring pupils into touch with what they read in their newspapers, or hear in any lesson they may have on 'Current Events'.

S. A. Pakeman

November, 1957

LIBRARY
No...........
Shri Shri
Ashram

INTRODUCTION

Aids to the Study of Modern World History.

THIS book has been written with the object of outlining the main events and tendencies of world history from the latter part of the eighteenth century up to the end of 1957, so as to give readers some acquaintance with the way in which that great crisis of modern civilisation which we call the Second World War had been reached, the beginning of the events that sprang from it, and the constant danger in which that civilisation stands at the time of writing. Teachers who use this book should impress on their pupils that it will be the duty of the rising generation so to work for peace and the complete abolition of war that such a crisis never happens again.

At the end of every chapter are given a brief summary of its contents, and hints for the further study of its subject-matter. The names of a few books only are suggested, such as can be easily consulted. Some leading dates are given as a guide to each chapter, and teachers should get their pupils to construct time charts for the whole period.

General works on the whole subject are plentiful. The first requisite is a good historical atlas to supplement the maps given in the text. Ramsay Muir's *Historical Atlas, Medieval and Modern*, or *School Atlas of Universal History*, can safely be used; also Grant Robertson and Bartholomew's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*. A smaller one is Johnston's *Historical Atlas*. Some of the books on European history recommended are: Fisher, *History of Europe* (volume 3); Hearnshaw, *Main Currents of European History*; Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* (volume 2); Grant Robertson and Temperley, *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*; Hazen, *Europe since* 1815, and Mowat, *The Concert of Europe.* The 'Modern World Series' includes books on Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan. Bodley's *Modern France* is most valuable. All these contain suggestions for further reading. For reference, the *Cambridge Modern History*, volumes 8 to 12, and Atlas volume, is invaluable, and the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* contains most useful articles, both general and particular.

A large number of books and pamphlets, including many official publications, have been issued since the outbreak of war in 1939. Two useful general works on the pre-war period are E. H. Carr's *The Twenty Years' Crisis* and Mackintosh's *The Paths that Led to War*. A valuable series of 'Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs' deals with a number of questions that arose immediately before the war as well as during its course.

At the end of the book is appended a set of test questions on each chapter. These are intended as models for teachers, and do not attempt to cover the whole ground. Teachers should strive to frame questions which will stimulate the interest of their pupils and make them think for themselves.

Dr. S. C. Bhattacharya.
Durgapur.
1961.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE CHANGING WORLD	1
II.	THE GREAT CHANGES: (1) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	9
III.	THE GREAT CHANGES: (2) THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION	18
IV.	THE GREAT EUROPEAN WARS AND THEIR RESULTS	33
V.	THE AUTOCRATIC STATES OF EUROPE	46
VI.	THE FREE STATES OF EUROPE	57
VII.	LIBERALISM AND REVOLUTION	68
VIII.	VICTORIAN BRITAIN	78
IX.	THE FREEING OF ITALY	90
X.	THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY	100
XI.	RUSSIA TO 1914	112
XII.	THE STORM CENTRE OF EUROPE	121
XIII.	THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. THE SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH: CANADA	130
XIV.	THE SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH: AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND SOUTH AFRICA	141
XV.	THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT (TO 1919)	153
XVI.	THE EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE	169
XVII.	THE FAR EAST	184

CHAPTER PAGE

XVIII. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA . 196

XIX. SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE 210

XX. THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND THE TRIPLE ENTENTE 222

XXI. IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR 232

XXII. THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914–1918 . 243

XXIII. THE PEACE TREATIES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS 263

XXIV. AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR: BOLSHEVIKS AND FASCISTS 276

XXV. AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR: DEPRESSION FOLLOWS RECOVERY . . . 290

XXVI. EVENTS LEADING TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR 302

XXVII. THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER . 319

XXVIII. THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS . . 335

XXIX. NEW STATES IN ASIA AND AFRICA. THE UNITED NATIONS 354

MODEL TEST EXERCISES . . . 368

INDEX 379

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Map—The World in 1957 . . . *Frontispiece*

PAGE

Map—Europe in 1789 10
The Attack on the Bastille 13
A Spinning Wheel 21
Modern Spinning Machinery 21
George Stephenson's 'Rocket' 25
Modern Railway Locomotive 25
Napoleon 36
Map—Europe in 1810 39
Metternich 47
Map—Europe according to the Settlement made at Vienna, 1815 51
Louis Philippe, King of the French 61
Part of a Chartist Procession at Blackfriars Bridge, London, 1848 74
Queen Victoria 79
Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) 85
Interior of the Great Exhibition, Hyde Park, 1851 . 87
Garibaldi 93
Map—The Unification of Italy in 1859 97
Bismarck 101
Map—German Empire in 1870 107
A typical Moujik (peasant) 113
Map to illustrate the Treaty of Berlin (1878) . . 122
Map—The Balkans in 1914 123
Map—Canada 134
Wheat Elevators at Fort William 137
Australian Sheep Ranch 143
Map—South Africa 148
Map—India showing growth of British power . 156

PAGE
Mahatma Gandhi 164
Map—Africa in 1939 (showing Possessions) . . 171
Cecil Rhodes 172
A Slave Caravan 175
Japanese men wearing the armour and bearing the weapons of the ancient Samurai . . . 186
Map—Union and Confederate States . . . 197
Abraham Lincoln 199
Lord Lister 211
Kaiser Wilhelm II 226
Map—Europe at the outbreak of war in 1914 . . 238
Map showing theatres of war 244
Map of the Western Front 246
Map of the Eastern Front 250
Ypres, after bombardment 255
A battlefield scene, Western Front . . . 257
President Wilson 264
Meeting of the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919 265
Map—Central Europe in 1920 268
Lenin (1870–1924) 279
Benito Mussolini 286
Adolf Hitler 312
New Delhi, with the Parliament Building in foreground 343

LIBRARY
No. 11/119
Shri Shri ... mayee Ashram
BANARAS

CHAPTER I

THE CHANGING WORLD

The nature of the changes. Two hundred years ago the world was very different from the world of to-day. Great changes have taken place which have affected nearly every human being. Then, many countries and their inhabitants lived in ignorance of anyone but their nearest neighbours, the next village or the next tribe. To-day, it is hardly possible for any village, tribe, or country to live its own life without interference from someone else outside. Then, many countries went on living in the same way as they had lived for many centuries. In the West, change, even in country districts, had been going on slowly for several hundred years: but in the East, the life of the villager throughout the ages had changed very little; sons had followed their fathers, generation after generation, working on the same lands by the same methods. To-day this is far from being the case, as may be seen from what you will learn in Chapter III. There is scarcely a place in the world that cannot now be reached from where you live in a few days, or even hours, by one or another type of aircraft, whereas only a few years ago it might well have taken weeks or even months. More rapid changes in the world at large have taken place in the period of rather over the century and a half covered by this book than in many centuries before. It is the purpose of the book to find out *how* and *why* the age-old conditions have changed in this astonishing way, and to make us think in what directions these changes are leading the peoples of the world.

They began in the countries of Europe, Britain and France, and spread rapidly through that continent, and to North America. They have spread more slowly and recently to Asia, Africa, South America, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, great and small; and they have been usually introduced by Europeans. Therefore we shall have to see what the conditions of life were before these changes, first in Europe, then in the rest of the world.

The beginning of these changes is to be looked for in the great movement called the 'Renaissance' or 'Rebirth of Learning', about four to five hundred years ago; but the two great series of events which caused changes to spread so rapidly, and which are therefore called 'revolutions', were 'The Industrial Revolution', which began in Britain, and 'The French Revolution'. Both of these we find coming under our notice about the same time, towards the end of the eighteenth century. The former made great changes in the way in which ordinary men and women *lived*, by giving them greater power over *things*; thus making it easier for them to get food, clothing, and shelter, and to get these things in greater quantity, and on the whole in better quality too. This is sometimes called 'raising the standard of living'. The latter made great changes in the way people *thought*, especially in the way they thought about their rulers: it did much to increase their *freedom*. Ordinary people usually do not mind much about their freedom, as long as no one interferes with their comfort. But to those with greater minds, the desire for freedom often becomes so strong that they will lead others to struggle for what they hold to be their rights, even at the expense of their comfort.

Europe before the changes. Although great changes had begun, yet on the continent of Europe ordinary men and women of the eighteenth century continued to live and work in much the same way as their ancestors had done. They regarded their rulers as something to be endured, set in authority over them by some divine power. They only rebelled when driven past endurance, or when stirred up by some strong religious feeling. This was particularly the case among the working classes, that is, those who worked on the land, and those who worked at 'manufacturing', which then meant 'making things by hand'. The rulers were 'autocratic', which means that they ruled largely as they saw fit, usually for their own good and not for that of their subjects. They fought wars, many of which were over the question of who was to be the next sovereign in someone else's country—for example, the wars of the Spanish, Polish, and Austrian Successions. In these wars they poured out like water the blood and money of their subjects, many of whom cared little who ruled over them. They constantly fought and intrigued to grab territory from less powerful neighbours, and in doing so would not hesitate to lay waste a whole countryside. These autocratic rulers were supported by a small class of nobles, whose ancestors had often been the bitter opponents of their rulers. These nobles had many privileges, some of which pressed hardly on the people below them in rank. The leaders of the Church in their lands usually supported these rulers, too.

But discontent was found among a few of the more enlightened nobility and clergy, among the professional classes, like lawyers and doctors, and among such of the merchant classes as were not wholly taken up with the making of money: but especially among such as were learned men, who had studied the free customs and institutions of the Greeks of long ago, and of the British and Americans of their own time. The most civilised and enlightened men and women were to be found in France, so that it was in this country that discontent in time became active revolution. These people became the leaders, and they were followed by peasants and workmen, who now understood and felt that they were being oppressed beyond all endurance. Other countries were less enlightened, but the flame of revolution spread quickly over Western Europe. In Eastern Europe, however, in the lands ruled by the autocratic emperors of Russia and Austria, struggles for freedom were going on during most of the next century: and here, too, the conditions of life changed much more slowly.

In Britain things were rather different. A certain amount of freedom in managing their own affairs had been won by the British at the 'Bloodless Revolution' of 1688. But they were usually content to let the great landowners manage the affairs of the country for them, and regarded the business of government as no concern of humble people. Moreover, the great landowners had the support of the big merchants and most of the professional classes; further, they did try to rule for the good of the country in general, where it did not seem to clash with their own interests. On the whole they succeeded in getting the general backing of the country behind their rule, so that hardly anyone was ever discontented enough to desire a revolution, like the French. Their rule, however, did not suit those British who had gone over as colonists to North America. They rose in rebellion on account of several grievances, mainly about trade, and in 1783 they finally shook off their allegiance to Britain, preferring for the future to conduct their own affairs themselves. Their grievances were not really very great; they were nothing compared with the burdens which oppressed the working classes of France or Germany: indeed, their separation from the mother-country might well have taken place without war or bloodshed. They formed what is known as the United States of America, now the richest and most powerful country in the world.

The rest of the world before the changes. From the fifteenth century onwards men from some European countries had been coming to Asia and Africa. But they had done very little to affect either of these continents. In Asia there remained the wide dominions of the Turkish Sultan who, as well as possessing the whole of the Balkan peninsula in Europe, held sway from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf, and from the Black Sea to the dry southern shore of Arabia. His government was very autocratic, and very corrupt, but on the whole was an easy tyranny. In the Far East the great empire of China and the small island state of Japan kept unaltered their ancient ways of life and forms of government. They remained as they had been for centuries, scorning the rest of the world, and taking little heed of the few European traders who visited their coasts.

India had fallen from the greatness of the Mohammedan empire into chaos. The last powerful emperor, Aurungzeb, died in 1707, and his successors had let all real power slip from them. Even in their greatest days Southern India had not felt their influence to any extent. A new power, that of the Marathas, seemed to be rising, but was soon broken up by great raids from the plundering races beyond the North-west frontier. Of this chaos the European traders who had established 'factories' on the coast, took advantage. British and French traders had been occupying such trading stations for more than a century, when in the middle of the eighteenth century they fought each other, and the victorious British found themselves possessed of great tracts of territory, and established as one of the greatest powers in India, soon to be the only great power. European traders, too, had long been established all over the southern islands of the Asian continent, some of which had passed entirely into their possession. But even in these they had not greatly affected the life led by ordinary men and women, nor were they greatly to alter the nature of such lives until the peoples of Asia came to feel the remarkable effects of the Industrial Revolution towards the end of last century.

In Africa the interior of the continent remained unknown and savage. The coasts were dotted with European trading stations, those on the west coast being used largely for the infamous slave trade. But towards the end of the eighteenth century public opinion in Europe, and especially in Britain, was becoming more humane and kindly; many cruelties and abuses were no longer to be tolerated, and above all this evil traffic. It came to be considered wrong to encourage the warlike tribes to raid the weaker for slaves, and still more wrong for European traders and American planters to profit by it.

The expansion of Europe. Ever since the discovery of the New World, and of the sea route to Asia round the south of Africa, the enterprising traders of Western Europe and the British Isles had made voyages longer than ever before attempted by man. The Spanish and Portuguese had gone to South and Central America in great numbers, and intermarrying with the original inhabitants had made great *colonies* all round the coasts and for some distance inland. But the energy which they showed in founding these colonies seemed to have become exhausted, and the new mixed race was unable to make much progress in civilisation. Therefore these colonies did not develop much until recent years, long after they had thrown off the yoke of Spain and Portugal.

Desiring trade, the Portuguese had followed up their first voyages round South Africa, and had established trading stations in India, Ceylon, and still further east. They were followed by the Dutch, who took many of these trading stations into their own possession, and by the British and French, who concerned themselves mainly with the Indian coast. It was a French official, Dupleix, who first understood what great power was to be obtained from interfering in the chaos following the break-up of the Mohammedan empire. But superior sea power, and the ability of two great men, Clive and Warren Hastings, secured both trade and empire for their British rivals, so that India became a part of the British Empire, instead of coming under French rule, and so remains in the Commonwealth to this day.

During the eighteenth century the French and British were fighting each other all over the world. But it was not only for trade and imperial power that they were struggling. Many British and some French had left Europe and settled down in North America to form colonies. As each power believed that the other ought to be shut out from that great continent, bitter warfare took place in the New World. Here again the superior sea power of Britain, with the far greater number of British colonists, had most to do with driving French rule out of North America. Most of the French colonists remained behind, in Canada, where they were soon joined by the few thousands of British colonists who preferred to give up their homes rather than join the United States of America. These two sets of colonists were the founders of the great country of Canada.

Finally, it was the enterprising sea power of the British that did much to open up a new continent, Australasia. Like North America, here were almost empty lands, with a temperate climate. The voyages of Captain Cook found for the British a new place to colonise, to which in the next century the crowded islands could send some of their spare population. It is clear that by the early part of the nineteenth century Britain, already the chief trading power in the world, had also become the chief colonising power. This is not all: Britain was rapidly becoming, too, the greatest manufacturing, or *industrial*, power.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER I

This chapter has two purposes: (*a*) To give some idea of what had been happening during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, particularly to show how far the influence of Europe had spread over the world; (*b*) To give some indication of what is to come in this book, so that the reader can understand the great issues with which mankind was faced in the Second World War.

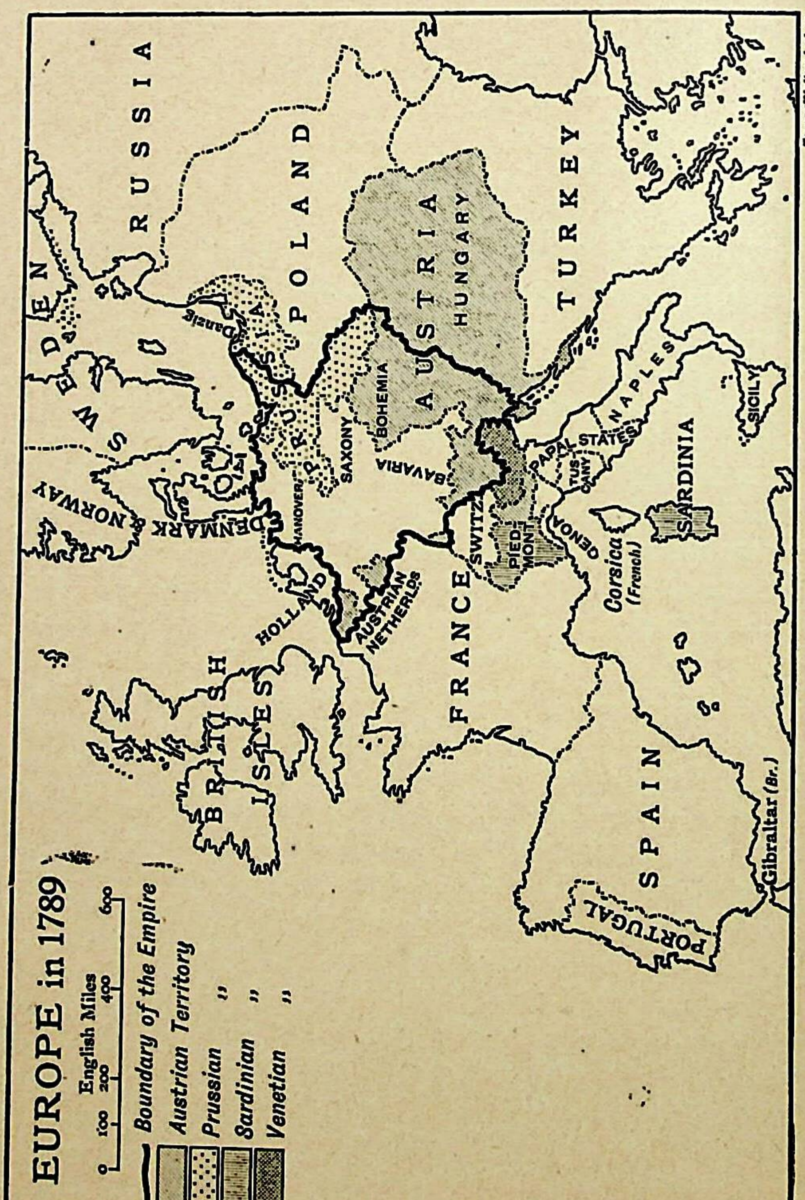
It would be advisable for anyone unacquainted with general history to read Hearnshaw's 'First Book of World History', or some larger work. The best known in English is H. G. Wells's 'Short History of the World'. A book by a Dutchman named Van Loon, called 'The Story of Mankind', is interesting, and is illustrated by curious drawings. Renouf's 'Outlines of World History' is written specially for Eastern students.

LIBRARY
No............
Shri Shri [illegible] ayee Ashram
BANARAS

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT CHANGES: (1) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

France before 1789. Having now found out something about Western Europe in the eighteenth century, let us consider France in particular. A hundred years before 1789, France had been the most powerful country in Europe. She had also been first in wealth, in civilisation, and in literature and the arts. But her kings, especially Louis XIV, had not been contented with this. They were too ambitious, and wanted France to be the supreme power of Europe, with no rivals. Therefore all the other nations united against Louis, and the power of France fell. He was succeeded by two weak men, Louis XV and Louis XVI, whose reigns occupied nearly eighty years. They went on with costly wars, and did not try hard to improve the wellbeing of their subjects. Louis XVI meant well, but he was too easily swayed by some of his advisers, and by his Austrian queen, Marie Antoinette. Everyone was impatient with the feebleness of the government, which failed in every way, but especially in the matter of finance. Though it levied heavy and unjust taxes, yet it was almost bankrupt. All intelligent people, led by great thinkers like Voltaire and Rousseau, despised and mocked at the feeble monarchy, and called for a better state of things. The nobility mostly led useless lives, enjoying themselves, and despising those of lower rank. They had few taxes to pay; but they possessed many rights and privileges which pressed most heavily on the peasants



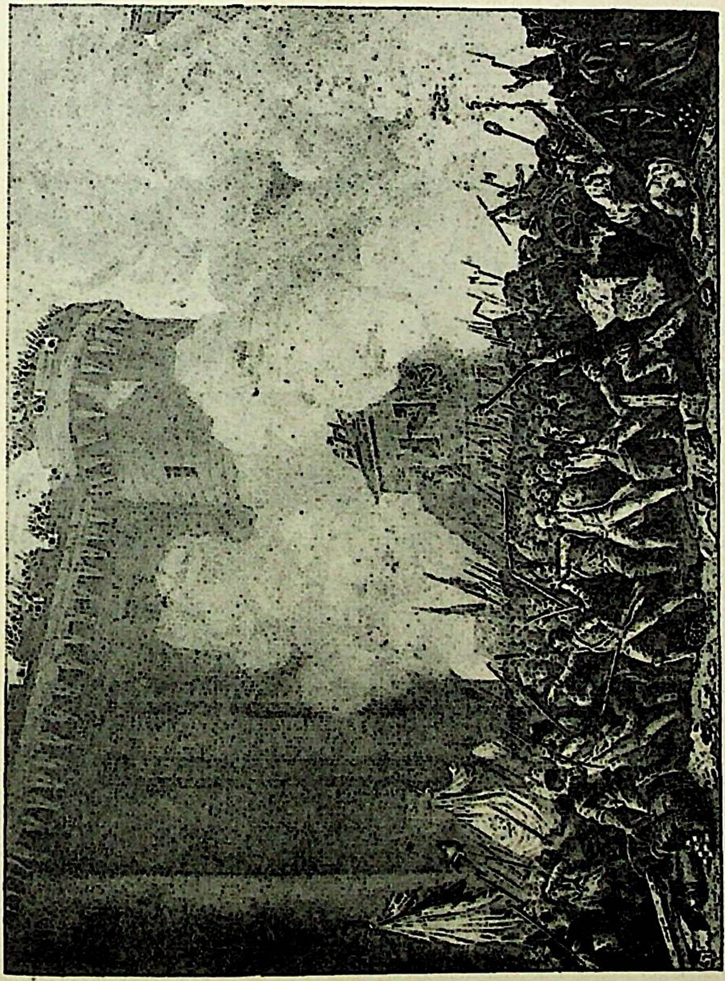
EUROPE in 1789

English Miles
0
100
200
400
600
Boundary of the Empire
Austrian Territory
Prussian ,,
Sardinian ,,
Venetian ,,
RUSSIA
SWEDEN
DENMARK & NORWAY
POLAND
PRUSSIA
Danzig
AUSTRIA
AUSTRIA HUNGARY
BOHEMIA
SAXONY
BAVARIA
HANOVER
HOLLAND
AUSTRIAN NETHERLDS
BRITISH ISLES
FRANCE
SWITZ
PIED-MONT
GENOA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES
SICILY
SARDINIA
Corsica (French)
TURKEY
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Gibraltar (Br.)
Emery Walker Ltd. sc

who lived on their estates. They ruined men's crops by hunting over them; they kept flocks of pigeons which were equally destructive, and which must not be harmed. The peasant often had to do unpaid labour for his lord, and also for the state. Although he owned his land, he was neither free nor happy. The Church was corrupt at the top, where most of the great offices, like archbishoprics and bishoprics, were held by nobles; and most of the lower clergy were drawn from the peasant class, often ignorant, whose sympathies lay with their 'flocks', and who were therefore divided in heart from the upper clergy. The middle classes were on the whole intelligent and educated, and it was from their ranks that the most capable government servants came. Yet they were scorned by the nobility, and barred from getting the most paying posts, many of which involved little or no work. Not only this, but they also had to bear very heavy taxation. It was from these middle classes that the revolutionary spirit came.

The States-General. By the year 1789 the government did not know where to turn for money. No one would lend any more, nor could any more taxes be forced from the country. Hence Necker, a Swiss banker whom Louis XVI called in to advise him, suggested that the 'States-General' should be summoned. This was a body something like the British Parliament, but it had not met for over a hundred and seventy years, as the powerful kings had not liked any interference from their subjects. There were three houses, or 'estates' as they were called—the First Estate, of the nobility; the Second, of the clergy; and the Third, who were '*bourgeois*', that is, lawyers, doctors, traders, and such. The last was equal in number to the other two combined, and was to a man anxious for reforms. So long was it since the States-General had met that no one knew quite what to do. At first the three estates sat separately; but several determined reformers made up their minds that they should meet as one body and not as three. The members of the Third Estate took an oath, called 'The Tennis Court Oath', from the place where they had to meet for the purpose, not to go away until they had brought about the necessary reforms. So after some trouble they all met as one body, which now called itself the National Assembly; here the reformers were in the majority, owing to the support of the lower clergy. At first the king was inclined to be sympathetic, and even the nobles gave up most of their privileges of their own free will. But two months after the summoning of the States-General another force took a hand in the game, that terrible force called 'the mob'. The workers of Paris had always been poor and violent; now, stirred up by some of those who feared that the king and the nobles were not acting in good faith, they rose in hundreds, and stormed, captured, and destroyed the Bastille, a grim old fortress in the centre of Paris which had been the prison where those who angered the king were sent, without trial, often for the rest of their lives. The news sent a thrill throughout France and Europe; in England Fox, a true lover of freedom, hailed it as the greatest and best happening in the history of the world.

The progress of the Revolution. But the revolutionary leaders, having found a powerful weapon, determined to go on using it. The Paris mob, maddened with hunger, arose once more and marched to Versailles, whence they brought the king and his family, and the National



The Attack on the Bastille

Assembly, back to Paris. 'We have brought the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy,' they shouted, believing that now they would be able to get supplies of food. In the country, too, violence was beginning; the peasants rose to cast off the burdensome rights of the nobles, and sometimes to send up their great houses in flames. Many of the nobility fled from the country, and these, known as '*émigrés*', were to be a source of great trouble. Two years after the summoning of the States-General, Louis, too, tried to get away secretly, but was discovered and brought back by force; in this way he lost all credit for his earlier good intentions, and men spoke openly of a Republic. For the time being a government was formed with the king at its head, but stripped of all real power. Now there came to this government a threat. The rulers of Austria and Prussia, stirred up secretly by the queen, and by the *émigrés*, threatened to invade France. This threat aroused the spirit of the French. Great new armies were formed, and rushed to the frontiers. In Paris, the queen's influence over Louis made everyone suspect him. The new constitution was overthrown, and the revolutionary leaders set up a military government of a most drastic kind. Some of these leaders, all of whom were middle-class men, were known as Girondins, enthusiastic young republicans; and some, even more extreme, were called Jacobins, desperate men resolved to save France for this Revolution at all costs.

The Reign of Terror. In September 1792 the new French armies, rather to their own surprise, drove the invaders out of France: meanwhile in Paris and other large towns took place terrible massacres of those suspected of being favourable to the old order; in Paris alone 1,400 people perished. More and more power fell into the hands of the mob leaders, the 'Commune' of Paris, and these were nearly all members of the 'Jacobin Club'. The most famous were Marat, once a doctor, Danton, once an advocate, and though cruel, yet an able man and a true patriot, and Robespierre, once a judge in the provinces, and the most powerful and unscrupulous of the three. While the armies were now winning victories on the frontiers, and spreading the new revolutionary ideas among neighbouring peoples, these men kept all disaffection quiet by the most severe means. A series of executions by 'guillotine' (a heavy falling knife which cut off the heads of the condemned) took place. And one of the first victims was Louis XVI himself.

All Europe was horrified at this deed. Britain and Holland joined in the war against France: but nothing could prevail against the enthusiasm of the new French armies, the skill of their generals, who had to pay with death the penalty of any military mistake, and the severity of the Jacobins. A Committee of Public Safety directed affairs, and the terrible Revolutionary Tribunal mercilessly condemned to the guillotine everyone in any way suspected of treachery. Even the Girondins, revolutionaries as they were, fell before the pitiless Jacobins. But this terrible state of affairs did not last long. By 1794 the danger on the frontiers had been averted, and the French armies were attacking instead of defending. Marat had been assassinated by a girl named Charlotte Corday on account of his bloodthirstiness: Danton had fallen before the jealousy of Robespierre: and when Robespierre himself fell before the jealousy of other Jacobins, the Terror came to an end. People regained their sanity, even the Paris mob, the very instrument of the Terror, and a new and far more moderate government was set up, known as the Directory. It was, of course, a Republic, but not cruel, and not swayed by the leaders of the Paris mob. This turbulent body arose in its wrath once more, in 1795, but was swept from the streets by the use of artillery, the idea of a young general named Napoleon Buonaparte, who was called in by the government to help. This is sometimes known as 'the whiff of grape-shot'. It is the second appearance in history of this remarkable man.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER II

The first paragraph of this chapter explains why the revolution against the old order broke out first in France. The rest, dealing with the progress of this revolution, shows how quickly its real objects were attained; how the hostile attitude of the autocratic states of Europe, arousing French national feeling, drove the conduct of affairs into the hands of extremists; and how these men, under the stress of military necessity, took terribly violent measures to preserve the Revolution. Innumerable books have been written on the subject-matter of this chapter, both serious historical works and novels. Of the latter, the best known is Dickens' 'Tale of Two Cities'. There are many biographies of the principal figures concerned, such as those of Mirabeau, by Willert, and of Danton and Robespierre, by Hilaire Belloc. The latter author wrote a small book on the French Revolution in the Home University Library. A good general account is that of Madelin, 'The French Revolution'; Lord Acton's 'Lectures on the French Revolution' are learned and attractive. The best work for anyone wishing to make a close study of the subject is Aulard, 'The French Revolution', in four volumes. Holland Rose's 'Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era' is a useful short book for further study of this chapter and Chapter IV.

Some Important Dates.

1715. Death of Louis XIV.

1778–1783. The French helped the American colonists against Britain, and learned something about liberty.

1789. May. Summoning of the States-General.
July. Fall of the Bastille.
October. March to Versailles.

1791. Attempted escape of Louis XVI foiled.

1792. Invasion of France stopped by 'cannonade' of Valmy.

1793. Execution of Louis XVI, and beginning of the Reign of Terror.

1794. Fall of Danton (April) and of Robespierre (July). End of the Terror.

1795. The 'whiff of grape-shot'.

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT CHANGES: (2) THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The coming of the machines. In the early years of the eighteenth century most people in Western Europe were workers on the land. To-day most of them live and work in towns; and instead of working with their hands, they use some kind of a machine for making things. As a rule this machine is not driven by their own efforts, but by some kind of *power*—steam, electric, or oil power. By such means men are able to do far more than they could with simple tools worked by their own strength. As a recent poet has written of machines:

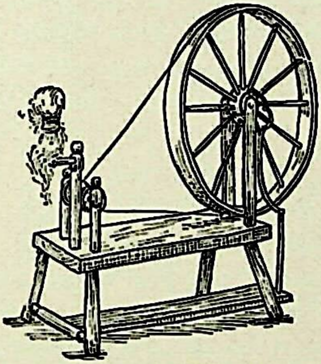
We can pull and haul and push and lift and drive,
  We can print and plough and weave and heat and light,
We can run and jump and swim and fly and dive,
  We can see and hear and count and read and write!
(*Kipling:* 'The Secret of the Machines'.)

It is this power of machinery that is changing everything in the world, except the natures of men, women and children. Let us see then how these great changes came about.

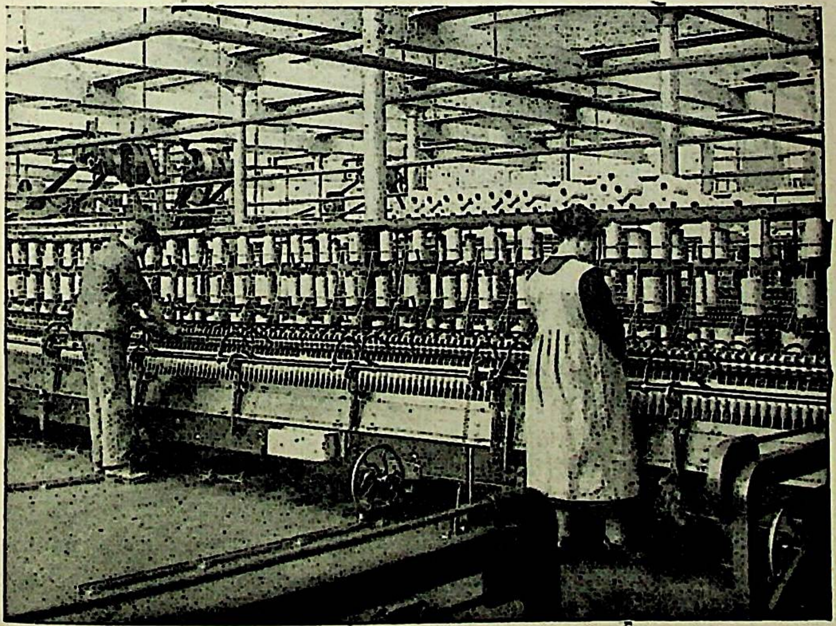
In early times no one was very rich except those who owned large tracts of land. Gradually there grew up a number of men who were able to make money, mainly by trading, and some of these were able to save some of it, and to lay it by. This money they used mainly to increase their trades; but they would also lend it to governments, or to private persons in need of it: but later on, when machines came to be invented, they were able to provide the money to make these expensive machines, to pay all the hundreds of workers who were employed to look after them, and to buy the raw material for manufacture in the great quantities necessary to make them pay. They came to be known as 'capitalists', and some of them became very rich indeed. The invention of power-driven machinery was first made possible, however, by scientific men who set themselves to find out the reasons why ordinary things happened, and by men who were able to take advantage of these discoveries, and to turn their brains to finding new uses for familiar things. Sir Isaac Newton discovered several important principles of mathematics, one of which came from noticing the fall of an apple from a tree: he asked himself why it fell to the ground, and thought out the 'Law of Gravitation'. James Watt wondered why steam lifted the lid of a kettle, and by thinking and experimenting succeeded in applying this power to driving an engine for pumping water out of mines: though he was not the first to do this, he was the most successful. Towards the end of the eighteenth century several men made most important discoveries, and since this time there have been countless other inventions, and frequent improvements on all of them made by thousands of inventors. These new inventions and improvements go on more and more rapidly, till we wonder if there will ever be a slowing down. They are far too numerous for one to do more than mention some of the most important.

Changes in agriculture. It was in Britain that most of the early mechanical inventions originated. Earlier than these came improvements in what was then the most important industry of all, that of agriculture. In this the Dutch were the pioneers, but early in the eighteenth century the English also did much. A farmer named Tull taught better methods of ploughing, of sowing, and of draining wet land. New crops such as turnips and grasses were introduced for the better feeding of domestic animals. The breeds of cattle and sheep were greatly improved by Thomas Bakewell, so as to yield more meat. Later on many new machines were invented, like the steam plough and the threshing machine: it was in the wide lands of the United States and Canada that such great progress was made with these, making it possible for quite a few men to plough and reap hundreds of acres. The result was that the rapidly growing populations of Europe and America could obtain enough to eat. Nowadays, in all corners of the earth, people are employed in growing food for the industrial workers: and the inventions of tinning and freezing enable it to be kept for a long time without perishing, and to be carried easily for great distances. For example, the copra from coconuts grown in tropical islands is taken to other countries, made into artificial butter, put into sealed tins, and sent all over the world.

Industrial inventions. The most notable discoveries in industry were first of all those which had to do with the making of cotton and woollen cloth. Three Lancashire men made machines for improving the spinning of cotton yarn; Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, Arkwright was largely responsible for the water frame, and Crompton invented the 'mule'. These machines made it possible for yarn of really fine quality to be made in great quantities. A clergyman, named Cartwright, invented a machine for weaving, using water-power to drive it. Improvements on these machines made the



A Spinning Wheel



Modern Spinning Machinery

North of England the greatest district in the world for the production of cotton and woollen cloth. Even more important for the world was the invention of the steam engine, of which the first workable model was made by James Watt: steam power was not only used to drive the machinery in cotton mills, but was also applied in many other ways.

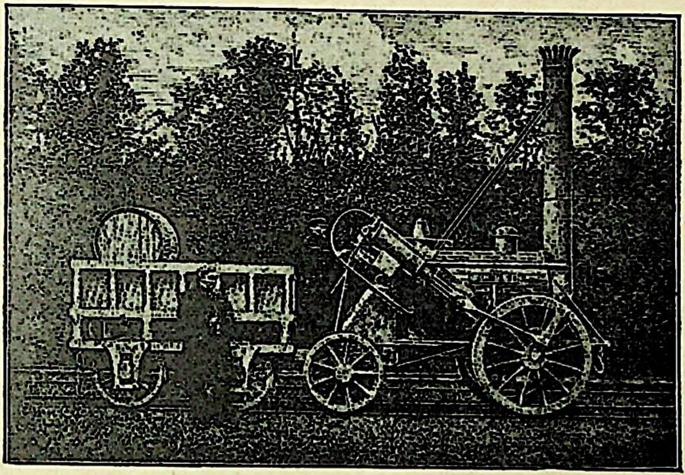
The new sources of power. Machinery worked by steam power has two essential requirements: *coal*, for heating the water, and *iron*, the best material for making the machines. The North of England was particularly fortunate in having great beds of coal and iron ore lying close together. Better methods were used for mining these, and all kinds of improvements were made in producing iron fit for this purpose. In the nineteenth century the place of iron was largely taken by *steel*. The process of turning iron into steel was found out about the same time by Bessemer, an Englishman, and by Siemens, a German who settled in England. The making of machinery became a great British industry. Inventors set to work and found out how to make machine parts correct to the thousandth part of an inch, and British machinery was exported in large quantities.

In these ways Britain got a long start of all other countries, and during the nineteenth century became the leading industrial country in the world. But since that time other countries, especially the United States of America and Germany, and quite recently Soviet Russia, have either caught up with or overtaken Britain in industrial progress. Other sources of power have been discovered, notably electricity, oil, and the amazing force that has been obtained by the discovery of 'splitting the atom', now known as 'atomic energy'. Water power is an excellent method of generating electricity, so that countries like Switzerland and North Italy have great natural advantages in this way. The whole world is being ranged for oil wells, and any country which possesses natural springs of petroleum has in them a most valuable property: to-day many, perhaps most of them, except in Communist countries, are controlled by American or British companies.

Atomic energy is a recent discovery, and it is only very recently indeed that it has begun to be used for the purposes of industry. If the nations of to-day can refrain from using its terrifying destructive power against each other, and use it for peaceful purposes, there is hardly any limit to the improvements which its use will be able to make in power-driven machinery, and in other ways too. But if they use it for warlike purposes, the whole world might easily come to a sudden and disastrous end.

Social effects of the changes. When a country turns from being largely agricultural to largely industrial, there is apt to be a great deal of upset, for individuals and for whole classes of people. This was particularly the case in Britain, because just when the changes were most rapid, there was further upset due to the long war which was being fought against Napoleon. Workers no longer made things in their own homes or small workshops, but were brought together into one large building called a mill or factory. These buildings were first put up on the banks of streams, where water-power could be got; but with the coming of steam-power, it was more convenient to mass them into towns. Big new towns therefore grew up, without proper order or government, and without any proper precautions for looking after the health of the workers. These workers, often women and children, who were well able to do the easy work of machine minding, were too often badly underpaid, forced to work terribly long hours, and treated worse than the slaves who were working on the plantations of the West Indies. There is no doubt but that the employers were greatly to blame, for their workpeople both worked and lived under most unhealthy conditions. However, from the 'twenties of the last century onwards, many kind-hearted men and women worked to improve these conditions, and the workers themselves joined in 'Trade Unions' to better their lot. The success of their efforts will be told in a later chapter. But the employers of that time must take the blame for much of the bitterness felt since that time by the working classes, which has resulted in great strife between 'Capital', that is, the people who supply the money to start and run big enterprises, some of whom also employ workers, skilled and unskilled, in factories, mills, mines, offices, shops and elsewhere, and 'Labour', by which is meant those workers.

In the early days of the Industrial Revolution, most of the employers were individuals, some of whom had made their way up from the ranks of the workers. But as time went on, and especially in the present century, the big enterprises in which hundreds or even thousands of working men and women were employed came to be run by 'companies' or 'corporations'. In these, the money to start and run an entire enterprise is supplied by a number of people, who use money they have saved to buy shares in the company—this is known as 'investment', and means lending their money—and leave the running of the enterprise to 'directors', who are paid 'fees', and 'managers' who are paid 'salaries'. The shareholders are paid 'interest' out of the profits made by the company if successful: if it shows no profit they get no return for the money they have invested, and if it fails altogether they



George Stephenson's 'Rocket'

[By courtesy of British Railways.

Modern Railway Locomotive

lose part or all of that money. A considerable part of the money invested to-day is supplied by banks, who get it from people who put their savings into the banks, and from insurance or other companies who have money to spare for the purpose of investment.

In recent years, in some countries, a few of the biggest enterprises have been taken over by the governments, and are said to be 'state enterprises' under 'public ownership'. In Great Britain, for example, the mining of coal and the supply of electrical power have become state enterprises. In other countries, and above all in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, better known as Russia, or the Soviet Union, the state owns and runs all the big enterprises.

Communications. There is one most important direction in which immense progress has been made. This is in getting things and people easily and quickly moved from one place to another; which is usually known as *transport*. Raw material for manufacturing into finished articles must be brought from all parts of the world to the factory. The articles when finished must be brought from the factory to the very doors of everyone who wants to buy them. In early times the only means of transport were by carts or pack animals on roads which were often mere grass tracks, except where the ancient Romans had built roads for lasting wear; by rivers or by the sea, in rowing and sailing boats.

Roads and canals. Towards the end of the eighteenth century good roads were built in France, and in Britain a number of improvements were made too. John Metcalf, though a blind man, did much to make the North of England roads better. Telford made bridges and cuttings, and McAdam discovered the present method of making road surfaces with small stones and grit. Mail coaches were soon able to dash along the good highroads at a great pace, and hundreds of pack wagons carried the goods of the new factories. Heavy goods were borne in barges on canals: indeed England soon became covered with a network of canals, and clever engineering feats were performed in constructing these, by Brindley, really a quite uneducated man, and others. Such men as these were the first 'civil engineers', now such a great profession. All over the world such men have made roads and built bridges, where none existed before. In India and in the tropical colonies of the British Empire they entered the Public Works Departments, and often accomplished marvellous feats of engineering.

Railways. Mail coaches, pack wagons, and canal barges were soon superseded by a new means of transport—the railway engine, drawing goods wagons and passenger coaches. For some time inventors had been trying experiments with railway and tram lines. George Stephenson showed to the world in 1830 the first efficient steam locomotive to run upon them. In that year his engine, the 'Rocket', won a public competition by dashing along at the unheard-of rate of thirty miles an hour. Since that time the spread of railways all over the world has been astounding. The westward advance of civilisation in North America depended entirely on the railway line, making it possible for the vast spaces of that continent to be filled up by a great flow of emigrants from the crowded countries of Europe.

Steamships. The principle of the steam engine was even earlier applied to ships, and the steam-driven ship, and in more recent years the oil-driven ship, has gradually replaced the sailing ship. The great passenger liner is safer, speedier, and more certain than the sailing ship, and what sailing ships remain are for cargo purposes, or else are pleasure yachts. Far the greater number of cargo boats are driven by steam or oil engines, however. As for warships, it was soon found that steam was much better for their purposes. Ships also came to be built of iron instead of wood, though the idea when first suggested seemed absurd. Again, it was in Britain and America that steamships and iron ships were first invented and used.

Motors and aeroplanes. Just before the beginning of the twentieth century a new kind of motive power was invented—the internal combustion engine, which is an engine driven by the explosive force with which certain oils, especially petroleum, are changed into gas. This type of engine has several uses: the oil-driven ship is rapidly taking the place of the steamship, and in one form, the submarine, can go under the surface of the sea. Perhaps its most important use is to drive motor cars, buses, and lorries along the roads, and aircraft through the sky. The petrol engine was invented, and a motor car made, by a German named Daimler in 1896. The first successful flight in an aeroplane was achieved by an American named Wilbur Wright seven years later. The world has now become completely used to the vast changes made possible by this great invention; motoring and flying were common enough by 1939, and have greatly increased and developed since; warfare, too, has been revolutionised by the use of mechanical transport and the aeroplane.

Telegraphs, telephones and wireless. Perhaps the most striking of all the inventions are those which have enabled men to communicate with each other over any distance, in a very short space of time, by the use of electricity. The electric telegraph was invented in the 'forties of last century: since that time cables have been laid under the sea, so that people on one continent can send rapid messages to those on another. The next step was the invention of the telephone, by which the human voice could be carried along wires. Wheatstone in Britain and Morse in America discovered the electric telegraph about the same time, and a Scotsman named Bell, residing in America, was responsible for the telephone thirty years later. At the end of the nineteenth century, Marconi, an Italian, found out how to send telegraphic messages without wires; and more recently it was found possible to send the human voice and other sounds by the same means, so that to-day a speaker in one place can address an audience many miles away, and numbering thousands or even millions of hearers: in some places it is possible, by television, actually to see him on a screen as well.

Some results of the changes. By all the means shown above, the peoples of different countries and of different continents have been brought into close touch with each other, whether they wanted to or whether they did not. They are getting more and more to live the same kind of lives, to read about each other, to see pictures of each other, and generally to know more of each other. These are the results of the Industrial Revolution, and might well seem to point towards greater friendliness and co-operation between different peoples and races: this is indeed an ideal towards which every civilised person ought to strive. But there is another side to these great discoveries, which is that they have been employed in making weapons of destruction. In two World Wars we have seen all the resources of science being used to invent means by which men may the more easily slaughter each other. Armies can advance hundreds of miles in a few days; cities, towns, and villages can be laid in ruins in a few hours or even, with the terrible hydrogen bomb, in a few seconds.

It is therefore evident that the Industrial Revolution has had a vast influence on the life of every human being. Some countries were affected before others, Britain in particular, for it was there that the movement started, and this start enabled that country to be more rapidly 'industrialised' than any others. But this process of 'industrialisation' has spread all over the world: there are several great manufacturing countries, and many of those which were, and still are, mainly concerned with producing food or the raw materials of industry are also developing manufactures themselves. But no one country can produce everything it needs for itself: nearly everyone is anxious to trade with other countries, and if allowed to do so in peace, can get practically everything it requires in this way. This is one great reason why the world wars have had such disastrous effects: producers are busy providing war materials, and people have to go without many articles of food and commodities to which they have become accustomed. Under the influence of power-driven machinery and its results everyone's life is changing, whether he wants it or not; for good or for ill, the Industrial Revolution has changed and is changing the world. The present generation, slowly recovering from the Second World War, and the generations to come, will have to see that it is for good; otherwise it will have to be considered the worst thing that has happened since the beginning of history.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER III

The purpose of this chapter is to narrate some of the changes which have taken place in industry and in the means of communication during the century and a half covered in this book, and to estimate their results. These changes are the result of applying scientific methods to the improvement of the ways in which the necessaries of life are produced and distributed. They have resulted in a great rise in the standard of comfort and civilisation among ordinary people, but have also brought some evils in their train, especially those of town life, and of more efficient methods of destruction. It is important to realise that they now affect practically everyone living in the world, for commerce and industry are to-day international and world-wide.

The subjects dealt with in this chapter form a great literature of their own—the economic history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A large list of books is to be found in the 'Bibliography of the Industrial Revolution', by Dr. Eileen Power, published by the Economic History Society. Probably the best book is that by Mantoux, 'The Industrial Revolution'. Knight's 'Economic History of Europe' deals with the subject generally, and a short book, Cressy's 'Outline of Industrial History', deals mostly with the Industrial Revolution in Britain.

Some Important Dates.

It is almost impossible to pick out leading dates, as the process has been of a gradual nature. The following are the dates of a few important inventions:

1705. Newcomen's steam engine.
1733. Kay's flying shuttle.
1761. Brindley's 'Bridgewater Canal'.
1765. Hargreaves' spinning jenny.

1776. Watt's steam engine.
1779. Crompton's mule.
1785. Cartwright's power loom.
1815. McAdam's road process.
1829. Stephenson's 'Rocket' locomotive.
1837. Electric telegraph.
1876. Telephone.
1885. Internal combustion engine.
1895–7. Marconi's wireless.
1908. Successful aeroplane flight by the Brothers Wright.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT EUROPEAN WARS AND THEIR RESULTS

Defence of the frontiers. We saw in Chapter II that the French Revolution had provoked interference by the powers of Europe, and that this had brought about the period of cruel and tyrannous government in France which is called the Reign of Terror. The wars thus begun lasted for twenty-three years, years which were full of great events. Nearly all the interest settles round one great name, that of Napoleon Buonaparte, one of the most astounding figures in history.

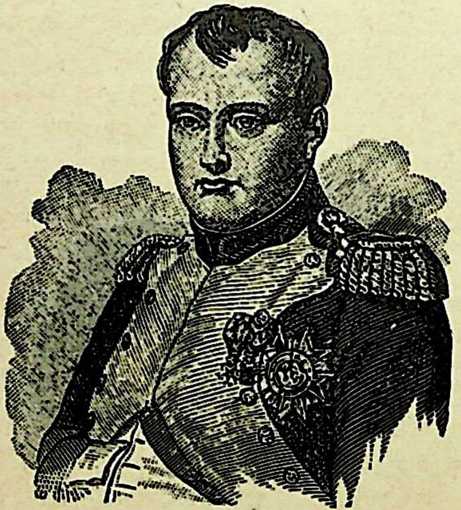
The invasion of France in 1792 aroused a great wave of national enthusiasm. Enough soldiers were raised to beat back the invaders. But the danger was by no means over, for the next year they returned to the attack, with Britain, Spain, and Holland added to Austria and Prussia. The French did not appear to be afraid; on the contrary, they were determined to carry their revolutionary ideas into the countries of their foes, and 'to afford help to all the peoples who wished to regain their liberty'. The Committee of Public Safety, of whom Danton was at first the moving spirit, decreed that every able-bodied man should be required to serve as a soldier. An army of 750,000 men was raised, and its organisation entrusted to a very able man named Carnot. With remarkable skill he had them armed and trained: their methods of fighting were much better than those of their enemies, and they got all their supplies from the country in which they were fighting. Young generals were appointed, several of whom became brilliant leaders: those who made mistakes were in danger of execution. The result was that all the invading armies were defeated and driven back, and the French armies crossed the frontiers. Holland, as well as all German territory west of the Rhine, was seized, and a new republic, the Batavian, set up. In consequence of this, Britain seized the Dutch colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon to prevent them falling into the hands of close allies of the French.

There was, however, no Carnot to reorganise the French navy, with the result that the French fleets could never equal the British, and as a consequence all the French colonies were lost. The old officers were all Royalists, and most of the sailors came from Royalist districts like Brittany: there were not enough old sailors to train the new recruits. The British were even able in 1793 to seize Toulon, the great naval harbour on the Mediterranean. From this they were turned out by the skilful use of artillery as arranged by a young Corsican officer: this is the first appearance in history of Napoleon Buonaparte.

The invasion of Italy. By 1795 there were armies on each frontier, all anxious to carry their arms and their revolutionary ideas all over the continent of Europe. Prussia and Spain made peace, and only Britain, Austria, and the north Italian kingdom of Sardinia remained active foes. Russia and Prussia were taken up with falling upon the ancient kingdom of Poland, and dividing it between them —a shameful act. In 1706 Buonaparte was given command of the French 'army of Italy' against Sardinia. His success was amazing: he conquered the whole of North Italy, and even invaded Austria, forcing that proud country to make peace, which was arranged by Buonaparte himself without much notice being taken of the government in Paris. Three republics were set up in Italy, and the Helvetian republic in Switzerland, so that now, round the frontiers of France, was a 'ring of dependent republics'. The ancient aristocratic republic of Venice, however, was handed over to Austria by Buonaparte, as compensation. Now Britain was the only enemy. The year 1797 was full of danger for that country, for the French only just failed to invade Ireland. They had, too, the help of the Spanish and Dutch fleets. A brilliant British victory off Cape St. Vincent improved matters, but the danger was not over, as a mutiny broke out in the British fleet. But this was quelled, and another brilliant naval victory at Camperdown, off the Dutch coast, just saved Britain.

The Egyptian expedition. Buonaparte was the most ambitious of men. He was now fired with the idea of conquering the East, like the old Mongol conquerors, Jenghiz Khan and Timur. The French fleet escorted his army to Egypt in 1798. But the British fleet, which had left the Mediterranean in 1796, had returned, under the command of Nelson, greatest of all sailors. The French fleet was followed and destroyed in Aboukir Bay, so that the French army was cut off. Buonaparte won several brilliant successes, and tried to make his way back through Palestine. But the strenuous resistance of the Turkish garrison in Acre, aided by the crews of several British warships under Sir Sidney Smith, stopped his progress. Napoleon always said of him—'It was that man who made me miss my destiny'. Shortly afterwards he escaped back to France, leaving his fine army to be defeated and captured by the British. It is interesting to notice that this expedition was accompanied by learned men, who were the first to take a scientific interest in Egyptian antiquities, and who found out many things about that long-buried civilisation.

Internal affairs of France. Buonaparte returned to France because he heard that the government was getting itself disliked by most people. The French armies were being defeated, too, but almost immediately they recovered themselves. Buonaparte, wonderfully popular in the country, overthrew the government and set up another, called the Consulate, with himself as First Consul, possessed of all the real power. During the next eight years he did wonders. He reorganised all the government services, so that any able man could get into them, and everyone in them worked with tremendous energy and efficiency, as if, it was said, the First Consul himself was



Napoleon

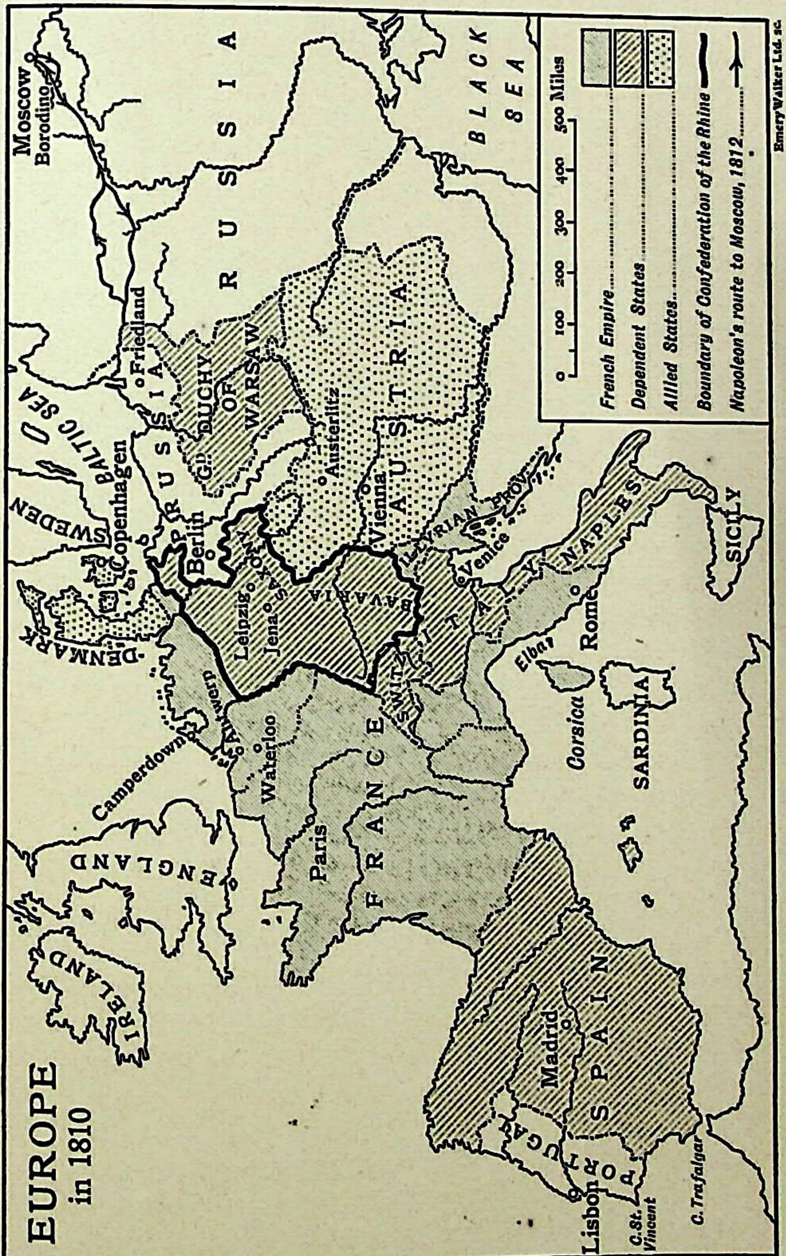
standing behind the desk watching. He made peace with the Pope, who had been at enmity with the Republic, and thus conciliated the French Catholics, especially the peasantry. He had fine roads made, and he encouraged industry and trade. He founded the Bank of France. Most important of all, he had drawn up under his personal supervision a great code of law, called the 'Code Napoléon', which included in itself all the laws that were necessary for the country. Of this he was very proud, and said, 'I shall go down to History with my code in my hand'. Within four years after becoming First Consul he had his office extended, first for ten years and then for life. Finally, in 1804, he was universally acclaimed Emperor, and crowned himself in the presence of the Pope. The ring of dependent republics became a ring of dependent kingdoms, on the thrones of which the Emperor Napoleon, as we may now call him, placed members of his own family, and some of his successful generals. But none of these had got his genius for ruling.

These were astounding achievements for one who ten years before had been an officer of artillery, twenty-five years old, and not even a Frenchman, but coming from the island of Corsica. This island, inhabited by people of Italian stock, only passed into the hands of the French as late as 1768, and then much against the will of the Corsicans. His rule was certainly based upon force, and the power of the army; but behind him was the French nation, willing to give up republican freedom for efficient government, and for the strong wine of military glory.

The Second and Third Coalitions. The shutting-up of Buonaparte and his army in Egypt by Nelson's great success at Aboukir Bay led to a renewal of the alliance against France, in which Britain was joined by Austria, Russia, and three other countries. For a time the French were defeated, and lost Italy. But they recovered, and on Buonaparte's return cleared the Austrians from Italy. He also, by clever diplomacy, detached the other allies from Britain, and even united them in a kind of defensive alliance against her, known as 'The Armed Neutrality'. By this means the Baltic Sea was closed to her ships, but Nelson forced it open at the splendid naval action of Copenhagen.

In 1801 the Austrians were forced to make peace, and in the next year a general peace was made. But it only lasted for a short time. War broke out again, and Napoleon gathered together a huge army on the north coast of France, having determined to invade England, if possible. But he was unable to escape the watchfulness of Nelson and the British fleet, which shortly afterwards smashed the combined French and Spanish fleets at the great victory of Trafalgar in 1805. Meanwhile Pitt, the man who was always at the very centre of Britain's resistance to the French, had got together another alliance, known as the Third Coalition, including Austria, Russia and Sweden. But Napoleon left the coast of France and made a lightning dash at the Austrians: he defeated them at Ulm, and a little later won the great victory of Austerlitz, over them and the Russians. Prussia was then provoked by him to war, and heavily defeated at Jena. By 1807 he had made peace and alliance with Russia, and had become Emperor of practically all Western Europe. He was now at the very height of his power. Once again Britain was the only foe: and though the news of Austerlitz had killed Pitt, his successors were determined to carry on the war as vigorously as ever.

The Continental System and the Peninsular War. Napoleon, seeing that Britain could not be invaded, tried to destroy


EUROPE
in 1810
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Camperdown
Antwerp
Waterloo
Paris
FRANCE
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
PRUSSIA
Berlin
Friedland
G.D. DUCHY OF WARSAW
SAXONY
Leipzig
Jena
BAVARIA
SWITZ.
Austerlitz
Vienna
AUSTRIA
ILLYRIAN PROV.
Venice
ITALY
Rome
NAPLES
SICILY
Elba
Corsica
SARDINIA
SPAIN
Madrid
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
C. St. Vincent
C. Trafalgar
RUSSIA
Moscow
Borodino
BLACK SEA
0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles
French Empire
Dependent States
Allied States
Boundary of Confederation of the Rhine
Napoleon's route to Moscow, 1812
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

her trade. He issued orders to all his allies that no British goods were to be imported into their countries. This was known as 'The Continental System'. The refusal of Portugal to consent to this led to an invasion by French troops. Napoleon by one or two cunning tricks got rid of the royal family of Spain, and set his brother Joseph on the throne, counting on overcoming Spanish resistance by means of the armies which had been brought for the invasion of Portugal.

But it was this act which marked the beginning of the great adventurer's downfall. Moreover, his allies found it very hard to manage without British goods, for the coming of the Industrial Revolution in Britain enabled that country to produce goods cheap and in great quantities, while the possession of the sea routes enabled her to control the exports from all non-European countries—though this brought about serious disagreement with the United States of America. Hence Napoleon's allies were only too willing to break with him as soon as they dared.

In Spain his armies encountered an opposition differing from any they had yet met. The peoples of Germany and Italy had in many cases welcomed the revolutionary ideas or the efficient government brought by Napoleon, and did not particularly regret their former rulers. But the Spanish hated foreign domination, and though their armies were defeated in the field, they kept up 'guerrilla warfare', cutting off supplies and stragglers and making life both uncomfortable and unsafe for the French armies in Spain. This was a *national* resistance. The British saw a good opportunity and sent troops. One army was chased out of Spain by Napoleon himself, but got clear away, thanks to the brilliant retreat to Coruña by Sir John Moore. But another landed in Portugal, and under Sir Arthur Wellesley, better known as the Duke of

Wellington, not only maintained itself against all the efforts of the French armies, but in 1812 began to drive them back. In later years Napoleon said, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which destroyed me'.

The Russian disaster. But trouble was also brewing with Russia, which was getting very tired of the Continental System: and under the surface Prussia, smarting under the crushing terms which Napoleon had imposed on her, was reorganising on the lines of an efficient modern state, with secret but nation-wide zeal. In 1812 Napoleon determined that there should be but one empire in Europe, and declared war on Russia. He collected a great army of more than half a million men, of whom only about one-third were Frenchmen, and moved into Russia. But here he made several bad mistakes, especially in starting his advance too late in the year. The Russian winter closed down upon the 'Grand Army', and out of it emerged only the merest wreck of that mighty host. Napoleon had taken them as far as Moscow, the ancient capital of Russia, and the Russian armies had retreated before him. The city was burned before his eyes. It was impossible to feed his great host, and he was forced to retreat over the same devastated route. The horrors of the retreat were appalling. Not only did he lose his army, but behind him rose Prussia and Austria and other German states.

The War of Liberation. Napoleon left the relics of his army, and hastened back to France to raise a new one. He succeeded in doing so, but deep discontent was aroused among the French at the way in which the 'blood-tax' of conscription was so rigorously forced from them. The Russians followed up what was left of the Grand Army: the newly-organised and efficient armies of Prussia and Austria joined them, as did that of Sweden, led by one of Napoleon's old marshals, Bernadotte: while Wellington was driving the French out of Spain, and threatening the southern frontier of France. Napoleon was no longer his old self. He failed to prevent the allied armies from joining, and they utterly defeated him in the 'Battle of the Nations' at Leipzig in November 1813. In the next year he kept up a brilliant resistance on the frontiers of France, but numbers were too much for him, and he was finally forced to surrender and to abdicate the imperial throne.

The Congress of Vienna and the 'Hundred Days'. Napoleon had been unwise in rejecting several offers of peace made previously. Now he was sent to a small island named Elba, off the coast of Italy. The allies met in congress at Vienna, to resettle the map of Europe, and to consider all the problems which had arisen out of the chaos into which Europe had fallen. While they were still sitting, Napoleon escaped from Elba in 1815 and returned to France. Many of his old soldiers joined him, still fascinated by the magic name of the Emperor, and he was able to raise a formidable army. But the allies were much too strong. Even before the Austrians and Russians could come up his army was met in Belgium by the British and Prussians. He almost succeeded in dividing them, but not quite: and when they joined, on the battlefield of Waterloo, his army met with defeat. His hopes were dashed, and he surrendered, about a hundred days after he had landed from Elba; he was sent away to the lonely island of St. Helena in the Atlantic Ocean, where six years later he died.

Results of the Great Wars. The first of the results of all this fighting and confusion are to be found in the actual terms of the settlement made at Vienna, which will be considered in the next chapters, as on it depends the history of Europe for much of the next century. But we may make a few general observations. First of all, the old order was gone; it would no longer be possible for a privileged class to oppress other classes unresisted. The idea of *liberty* was in powerful operation. Next, the classes which had hitherto been oppressed now regarded themselves as the equals of any one. Napoleon had seen to it that any clever man had a good chance of rising in his service. This is the idea of *equality*, or, more correctly, *equality of opportunity*. These two ideas led directly to what is called *democracy*, that is, rule of the people as approved by them. Another great idea which received an immense stimulus from Napoleon's career was the idea of *nationality*. The French had seized on this notion when they banded together for the defence of their frontiers: the British when they united against the threat of invasion: the Spanish when they went on fighting the invader after all their armies were defeated. Each of these, however, was a country which had long been one community under one rule. But Germany and Italy had neither of them been united for many centuries. The latter, and to a certain extent the former too, were united under Napoleon. They both began to feel that they ought to be nation-communities under their own rulers, unhindered by any foreign power: and their efforts to become such nation-communities form a most important part of later history.

Napoleon, however, left behind him a legacy of evil. There was the idea of *national aggressiveness*, the notion that had driven the armies of France all over Europe, developing into ideas of universal conquest and imperial power; without doubt these ideas affected the future German nation and its leaders. There was also the means of doing this—the arming of a whole nation, and placing the whole manhood of a country on a war footing; what is called *universal military service*. Both these have given infinite trouble since, doing much to bring about two world wars. If such catastrophes are not to happen again, aggressive nationalism must be curbed, military forces must be limited or abolished, and men and nations must be taught to live in love and charity with their neighbours.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER IV

In this chapter we take up the story of the spread by the forces of the new French republic of the ideas of the French Revolution, by means of armed force. Owing to national enthusiasm and the development of new military tactics, the French armies, led by skilful commanders, were successful everywhere against the leaders of the old order. Only Britain, by her insular position and her sea power, was able to hold out against them. The wars brought to the front a remarkable military adventurer, Napoleon Buonaparte, who by his dominant personality and wonderful victories induced the French to follow him blindly. He reorganised the administrative and legal systems of France, and even succeeded in making himself Emperor. But he did not know when to stop, and several bad mistakes led to his military defeat and fall from power; the French would no longer suffer for the sake of his too great ambition. By his interference in Europe he provoked against himself the very force which had made the French so successful—that of *nationalism*, which evoked the enthusiasm which greatly aided his military defeat and his downfall. The production of this feeling in Germany and Italy was to have remarkable consequences.

Books about this period frequently take the form of *Lives* of Napoleon. The standard biography in English is that of Holland Rose. There is a good short account by H. A. L. Fisher in 'Napoleon' (Home University Library). Tolstoy's 'War and Peace', dealing with the Russian campaign, is famous. Hilaire Belloc also wrote an interesting book on this—'The Russian Campaign of 1812'. Fortescue's *Life* of Wellington gives a good account of this great soldier. Holland Rose's book recommended at the end of Chapter II is a good short guide to the period 1789–1815.

Some Important Dates.

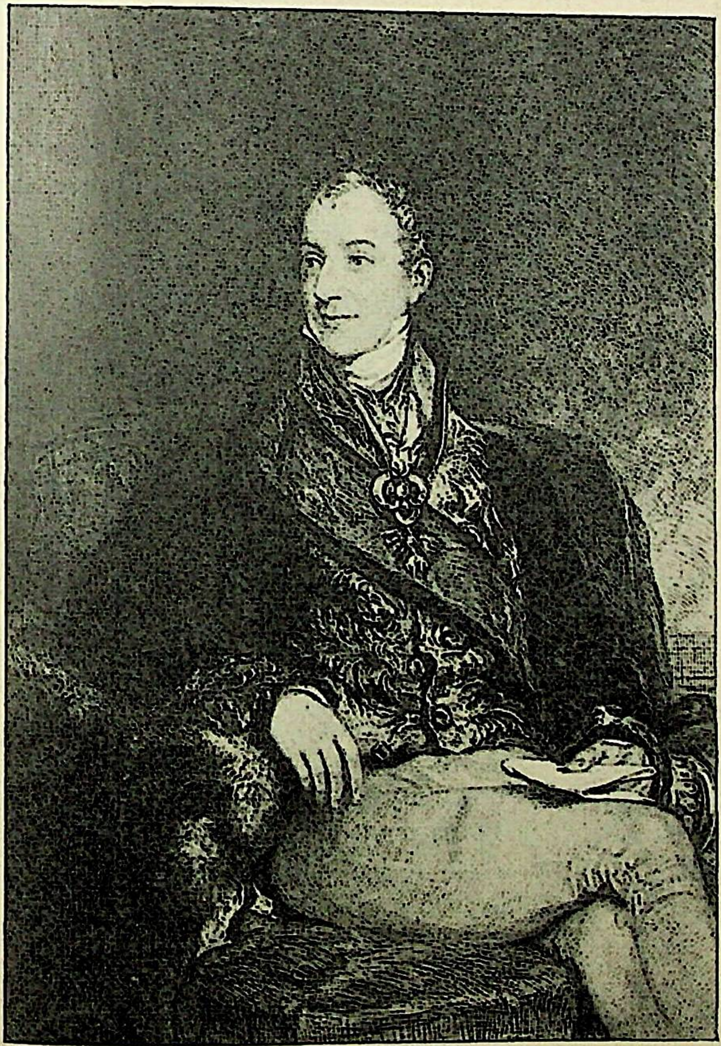
1796–7. Buonaparte's campaign in Italy.
1798. Expedition to Egypt.
Naval battle at Aboukir; victory of British fleet under Nelson.
1799. Buonaparte became First Consul.
1804. Napoleon I Emperor of the French.
1805. Battle of Trafalgar; destruction of French fleet by Nelson.
1806. Battle of Austerlitz; Austrians and Russians defeated.
1807. Battle of Jena; Prussians crushed.
1808. French invasion of Spain.
1808–14. 'The Spanish ulcer.'
1812. The disastrous Russian campaign.
1813. 'Battle of the Nations' at Leipzig.
1814. Abdication of Napoleon.
1815. Congress of Vienna.
'The Hundred Days' and Waterloo.

CHAPTER V

THE AUTOCRATIC STATES OF EUROPE

The era of congresses. The most important figures at the Vienna congress were Alexander I, Czar of Russia, and the Austrian statesman Metternich. The former, although absolute ruler of his country, had some liberal ideas; but the latter was quite determined on 'reaction', that is to say, on restoring as far as possible the old state of affairs, and quelling everything which seemed revolutionary. As the years went on, Alexander came round more and more to Metternich's point of view, whereas Castlereagh, the British representative at the congress, who was at first inclined to agree with that statesman, came to differ from him more and more. This is clearly marked in the four congresses after Vienna which were held between 1815 and 1822. After the last one Britain broke away, in the belief that the congresses had become merely a means of promoting Metternich's reactionary ideas.

In September 1815 the Czar Alexander proclaimed a 'Holy Alliance', to be founded on the principles of the Christian religion, between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Castlereagh called it 'a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense', and Britain would not join, though France did so later on. Metternich privately described it as 'a loud-sounding nothing', but with remarkable skill he gradually succeeded in turning it from its original ideals into a means of keeping down liberal ideals



Metternich

by force. Britain did join a 'Quadruple Alliance' to preserve the peace of Europe on the basis of the Vienna settlement, but broke away after 1822.

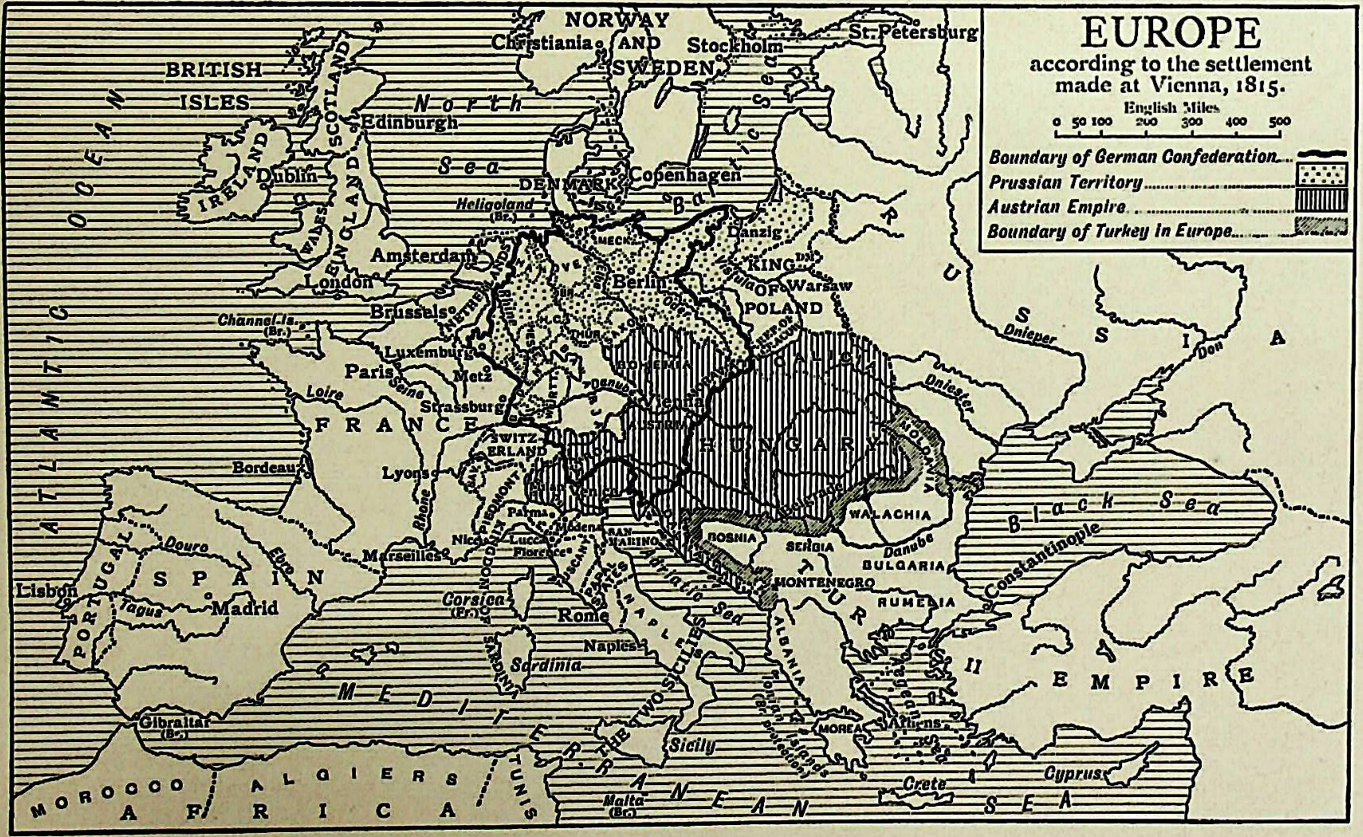
However, the fact that these congresses and alliances took place, for the purpose of making and preserving peace, does mark a real advance in the movement towards world-peace. The friendly discussion of problems by the representatives of European countries 'round a table' was beginning to take the place of secret diplomacy and open warfare. It begins with the alliance against Napoleon, which is sometimes known as the 'Concert of Europe', from 'concerted', that is united action. When the danger from Napoleon was averted, it was this alliance that settled the peace terms, in conjunction with the restored King of France's representatives. The idea lasted, and during the nineteenth century there were several great congresses held to settle big problems, though there was usually an appeal to arms first. In the great Congress of Versailles held after the world war of 1914–1918, the idea of a 'Concert of Europe', which had lasted through all the wars of the previous hundred years, was broadened out and given a material form by the creation of the 'League of Nations', succeeded after the Second World War by the United Nations.

The Vienna congress made a quite fair settlement of many problems which it had to face. But there were two great invisible forces which it neglected—the force of *Liberalism* and the force of *Nationality*. Metternich hated both these ideas; and though Alexander seemed to be at times in favour of them, his position as supreme ruler of an autocratic and non-national state forced him in the end into the same position. The actual terms of the settlement can best be understood by taking the various countries separately.

Russia and Poland. During the years from 1792 to 1795 the ancient kingdom of Poland, which had fallen into complete confusion, was shamelessly seized, bit by bit, and divided up between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Russia obtained the 'lion's share', largely because the other two were employing their armies on the frontier of France. Consequently the high-spirited Poles welcomed the French invasion, and Polish cavalry were among Napoleon's best troops. Poland was united again under the name of 'The Grand Duchy of Warsaw', and ruled by his ally the King of Saxony. At the Vienna congress Alexander wished to make Poland a kingdom under himself; but in the end Prussia and Austria got back much of what they had formerly seized, and Russia had the rest. At first Poland was given a fairly free government, but in course of time, as Alexander shed his liberal ideas, this freedom began to be taken away. His successor oppressed the Poles so severely that they broke out in rebellion in 1830. But the rebellion was cruelly put down. Thirty-three years later they rose again, and again the same thing happened. After this the Russian government did its best to turn Poland into a Russian province, and to crush by force its national feeling. But in spite of this Polish national spirit survived, and the Congress of Versailles in 1919 gave Poland her longed-for independence. Twenty years later Germany's brutal attack upon her began the Second World War.

The Russian people were until recently the most backward in Europe. They did not understand or indeed know anything of the ideas of the French Revolution. Notions of freedom hardly penetrated that vast country for many years. It will be necessary to tell the story of Russia in another chapter.

Austria and Prussia in Germany. Led by Prussia and Austria, most of Germany joined in the 'War of Liberation' against Napoleon after his disastrous failure in Russia. The Germans were feeling the beginnings of the national spirit. Before 1789 Germany had included more than three hundred states, great and small—many of them absurdly small—but most of these were swept away by Napoleon, who reorganised the country on his own plan. After 1815 the people of Germany felt proud of their great deeds in the War of Liberation, and began to consider whether this feeling of common nationality could be developed into a practical union of all the German peoples; furthermore, they could not but remember the efficient government which Napoleon had given to those in Western Germany, and did not want the old order back again. But any union of all the German peoples would break up Austria, which state contained many races besides the German Austrians, although these were the ruling race. Seeing that Metternich, the Austrian statesman, was the ablest man at the Vienna congress, it is clear that he would do all he could to prevent such a union. He was supported by the Prussians, who did not wish to submit to any control but that of their own King. But it was clear that something had to be done to satisfy the new spirit. Therefore most of the old states were not restored: the number was reduced to thirty-nine, and these were united in a confederation called the '*Bund*' (German for 'union'). This Bund, however, was not a real union, and little more than an agreement that its members should help each other if attacked by an outside country. The leading state in the Bund was Austria, mainly non-German in population. It was a union of states instead of peoples. Metternich thus got his way, and



EUROPE
according to the settlement
made at Vienna, 1815.

English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of German Confederation
Prussian Territory
Austrian Empire
Boundary of Turkey in Europe
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
Dublin
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
WALES
ENGLAND
London
North Sea
NORWAY AND SWEDEN
Christiania
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Heligoland (Br.)
Baltic Sea
Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
Brussels
Channel Is. (Br.)
Luxemburg
Paris
Seine
Loire
Metz
Strassburg
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Lyons
Rhone
Marseilles
SWITZERLAND
HANOVER
MECK.
Berlin
Oder
Elbe
Rhine
SAXONY
THUR.
H.C.
HESSE
BAVARIA
WÜRTT.
Danube
Danzig
Vistula
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Warsaw
REP. OF CRACOW
BOHEMIA
GALICIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Milan
Venice
MOLDAVIA
WALACHIA
Belgrade
BOSNIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
RUMELIA
ALBANIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
Constantinople
Black Sea
RUSSIA
Dnieper
Dniester
Don
PIEDMONT
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Nice
Parma
Modena
Lucca
Florence
TUSCANY
SAN MARINO
PAPAL STATES
Rome
Adriatic Sea
NAPLES
Naples
THE TWO SICILIES
Sicily
Malta (Br.)
Corsica (Fr.)
Sardinia
Ionian Islands (Br. protection)
MOREA
Athens
Aegean Sea
Crete
Cyprus
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
Douro
Tagus
Ebro
Gibraltar (Br.)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
TUNIS
AFRICA

something like the old order was restored. Certainly there was no liberalism and not much nationality. But the spirit of liberalism and of nationality lived on in the hearts of many Germans, who now looked upon Austria as the chief bar against the fulfilment of their hopes.

On the other hand, Prussia was differently regarded. The Germans remembered the great soldier Frederick II, and were inclined to look on Prussia as their natural leader, knowing that Prussia was a purely German state. The leaders of Prussia began to understand this, and soon made up their minds that their country and not Austria should be the head of the German confederation. They were no more inclined towards liberalism than the rulers of Austria; but their country, unlike Austria, was well governed, and its people well educated and fairly prosperous. They made a plan to improve the prosperity of Germany generally by doing away with all customs duties between the various German states, and accomplished this in 1833 by persuading most of the other states to join Prussia in making a real commercial union called the '*Zollverein*', that is, Customs Union. Into this union Austria could not come, because of her numerous non-German peoples. Thus Prussia's aim was on the way towards success; in matters of trade the smaller German states were looking to Prussia and not to Austria. The Industrial Revolution, too, was making itself felt in Germany, and the early introduction of railways had the effect of bringing the Germans more closely together. Within the Customs Union prosperity increased by leaps and bounds; but not in Austria.

Austria and Sardinia in Italy. As a result of the Vienna settlement Austria had obtained more lands. She had given up the Netherlands, which had never been of much use to her, but she got in exchange some German territory, including the splendid mountain country of the Tyrol, a large slice of North Italy, including the fertile plain of Lombardy and the lands of the ancient republic of Venice, and a long coastline on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea. As she already possessed Hungary and Bohemia, with their Magyar and Czech populations, and parts of Galicia and Poland, whose inhabitants were Slavs (the same race as the Russians), it is clear that the German element was really quite small in comparison with the non-German.

Now in Italy the rule of Napoleon had been generally welcomed. Like the Germans, the Italians had come to understand that they were really one nation; and under Napoleon, North and Central Italy had been one kingdom. But the statesmen at Vienna had no sympathy with this desire for unity. For many centuries Italy had been divided among several states, and had been nothing more, as Metternich said, than 'a geographical expression'. Therefore Italy was again divided up: Austria had most of the north: the territories of the Pope in central Italy were restored to him; and in the south the corrupt old kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which Napoleon had placed under the rule of the dashing French soldier Murat, was restored to the Bourbons, its old Spanish rulers. Between the Papal and Austrian territories were the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, each under a despotic duke of Austrian family. Only in the north-east was there a truly Italian state, the old duchy of Savoy, which, with the addition of the large island of Sardinia and the western part of the north Italian plain, called Piedmont, now became known as the Kingdom of Sardinia. In all these states, as well as in the Austrian possessions, liberal and national ideas were sternly repressed.

Spain and Portugal. As soon as the French were driven out, the old royal lines returned, much to the joy of the people. But they had 'learned nothing and forgotten nothing', and they tried to restore completely the old autocratic monarchy. The Spanish people soon wearied of this, and in 1820 the Spanish Liberals forced reform on their king. The autocratic powers of Europe, and especially France (for a few years restored to the rule of autocratic kings), wished to interfere; but British statesmen objected, and the Spanish were for a short time allowed to go their own way. But the people of Spain were very 'conservative', and did not care greatly for the new ideas. Hence in 1823 the French had their way, and were able to march an army into Spain and do away with the reforms. In Portugal, however, where a similar state of affairs existed, the British statesman Canning managed to prevent such interference. Later on a queen came to the Spanish throne who favoured liberal ideas; but civil war broke out, and continued for many years. There was a liberal queen in Portugal, too, and the British succeeded in preventing any interference by outside powers in either kingdom.

However, in neither of these countries was the government very efficient, and many stormy happenings have since convulsed both of them. Portugal managed to keep such colonies as remained to her, except Brazil, and has them to this day. Spain lost all her great possessions in South America, as will be shown in the next chapter. She kept some islands in the West Indies, and the Philippine group in the East Indies, but at the end of the century lost these as the result of a war with the United States of America. The great days of these two countries have never returned.

Break-up of the Vienna settlement. The close alliance between the autocratic powers did not last very long. Within ten years they had fallen out with each other; and the Holy Alliance gradually dropped out of politics. Thereafter, although congresses met now and then, there was no more joint action to interfere in other countries. The attempt to crush the forces of Liberalism and Nationalism failed in Portugal, then in the South American states, and later on in France. We shall see in later chapters how these great forces were to act on the minds of men until all the old autocratic powers had to give way, and abolish or modify their old systems of government by one man or by a small body of nobles. Much of the settlement made at Vienna had to be unsettled; but in spite of this, it remained during the whole nineteenth century the basis of the European states system.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER V

The nature and some of the terms of the Vienna treaty which brought to a close the long Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars are given in this chapter; the settlement was a fair one on the whole, but the chief error was the deliberate neglect by statesmen of the two great principles of Liberalism and Nationality. The Europe of this epoch can be divided into those states which retained or re-established autocratic forms of government, and those which allowed a certain amount of liberty in their constitutions. The former, particularly Russia, Austria, and Prussia, are dealt with in this chapter; these were the principal states involved in the

'Holy Alliance', which, beginning as an attempt to preserve peace and the Christian religion, became an instrument used to repress the forces of Liberalism. The attempt to preserve peace and to settle problems by frequent congresses, though misused and a failure, was a valuable step towards the ideal of world-peace.

It is difficult to find easily accessible books dealing with the subjects treated in this chapter. There is a small book by Sir A. W. Ward, called 'The Period of Congresses'. Otherwise it is best to consult, for further reference, the books mentioned at the beginning of this work, and the histories of the particular countries dealt with in this chapter. Volume 10 of the Cambridge Modern History gives full information. Ward's 'Germany (1815–1890)', and Wickham Steed's 'Hapsburg Monarchy' will be found useful for Prussia and Austria; for books on Russia, see end of Chapter XI.

Some Important Dates.

1815. Formation of the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance.
1818. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1820. Congress of Tròppau.
1820–23. Rebellion in Spain, put down (1823) by French armies.
1821. Congress of Laibach.
1822. Congress of Verona, after which Britain broke away from the autocratic states.
1830. Unsuccessful rebellion in Poland.
1833. Foundation of German 'Zollverein' by Prussia.

LIBRARY
No. 11/119
Ashram

CHAPTER VI

THE FREE STATES OF EUROPE

Britain. The Vienna settlement did not greatly affect Britain, although her representative, Castlereagh, took an important part in it. He was very anxious that France should not suffer, blaming Napoleon himself, not the French nation, for most of the recent troubles. Therefore nearly all the French colonies were given back. Britain retained Mauritius. She also kept the former Dutch possessions of Cape Colony and Ceylon, on payment of a sum of money. In Europe, Malta, Heligoland (handed over to Germany in 1890) and the Ionian Islands (afterwards handed over to the new kingdom of Greece) were allotted to Britain. It is important to note that the British had got hold of a large portion of the world's trade, and that Britain was established as by far the greatest naval and colonial power.

Before the wars had come to an end, an outcry was raised for the reform of Parliament. Many people, led by the journalist Cobbett, were influenced by the principles of the French Revolution. They considered that it was time to end the old idea of leaving the government in the hands of great landowners, and to admit other classes to a share of the power. Some merely wished power to be extended to the middle classes, but others were prepared to go further, and give every man a share in governing the country, by means of votes at parliamentary elections. After the end of the war industry everywhere was much upset. British business men had hoped for a 'boom', that is, a great increase of trade: instead, there came a sharp 'slump', that is, a decrease in trade, because the people on the continent of Europe were too poor after the costly wars to buy even the goods which they needed. The men at the head of the government were very nervous of this new reform movement, and especially of its strength in the great new towns of the north of England. They therefore took measures against it which were far too severe. Fortunately those who were leading the reform movement were usually moderate men, and in spite of the widespread unemployment and acute distress among the workers there was very little violence. Their cause was taken up by those great landowners who were the leaders of the Whig party. When these men, led by Grey and Russell, came into power in 1830, they at once brought in a Reform Bill, and nearly the whole country supported them. Rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords provoked serious rioting, especially in Bristol, where the houses of the Mayor and of the Bishop were burned down. In 1832 a new Bill was finally got through that House; those who opposed reform did not vote; and it became law.

This Act of Parliament gave votes to the middle classes—professional men, merchants, tradesmen, and farmers, but not to the working-men either in town or country. Many 'boroughs' which had formerly returned members to Parliament had them taken away and given to the big industrial towns which had grown up so recently. Many of the old country gentlemen firmly believed that this Act would ruin Britain, but their fears were groundless. Before 1832 a number of other reforms had been made, and many more were to become law during the next fifteen years. For example, prisons were improved. Catholics, and Nonconformists, that is, Protestants who were not members of the Church of England, were given the same rights as members of that Church, slavery was abolished in all the British possessions, the local government of towns was entirely altered and reformed. Finally, the duty on imported corn was abolished, as well as on very many other articles, and with a very few exceptions all goods could now come into and go out of the country free of all customs duties.

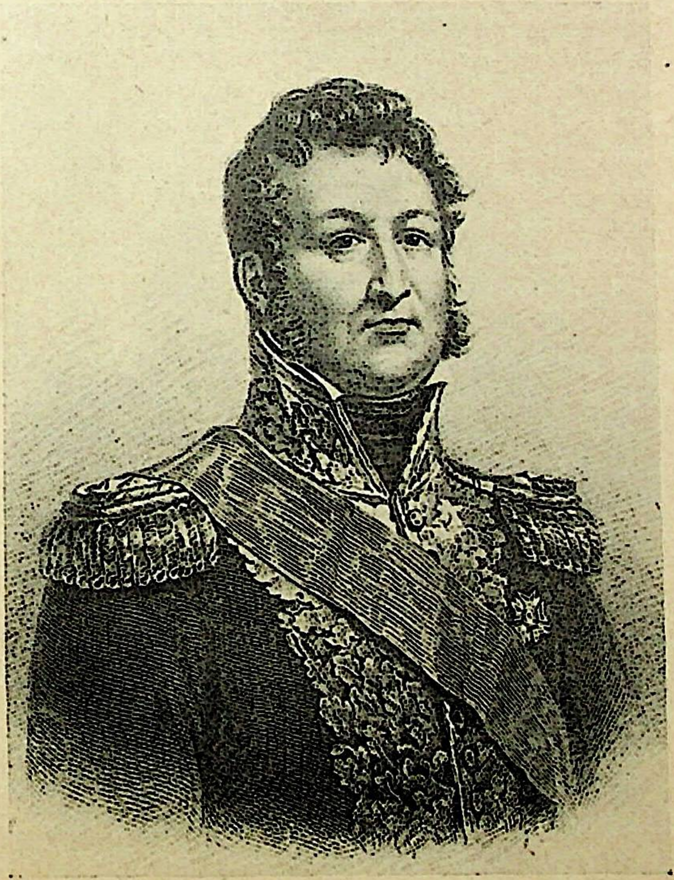
All this reform movement sometimes goes under the name of 'Liberalism', or 'Liberal reform'. One of the two great parties in British politics later took the name of the 'Liberal Party', because it believed in pushing on reforms. The British people as a whole sympathised strongly with those on the continent of Europe who wanted the same kind of reforms in their countries, and also with those who wished to free their native lands from a foreign yoke. Thus those who led the Liberal and National movements in Europe could always be sure of British sympathy, although the British government made it a principle not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

France. On the fall of Napoleon the old line of kings was set up again in the person of Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI—Louis XVII was the unfortunate little son of Louis XVI, and never reigned at all. At the Vienna congress France was not dealt with severely, largely owing to Castlereagh and a very clever French statesman named Talleyrand. She lost all her conquests, and had to pay an indemnity. But she did not lose

Alsace and Lorraine, the Rhine border provinces, which Prussia had so greatly desired to possess.

The old forms of government which had broken down so badly were not restored. Most of Napoleon's great reforms were kept and there was even something resembling a Parliament. But this did not content the returned '*émigrés*', who during their period of exile had 'learned nothing and forgotten nothing'. They got rid of the wise, if totally unscrupulous, Talleyrand; and they had the famous Marshal Ney, hero of the Russian retreat, put to death for having rejoined Napoleon.

They tried all kinds of means to get back the old conditions—this is what is called 'reaction', the opposite of 'revolution'. When Louis XVIII, who had kept the reactionaries in check, died in 1824, his brother, their champion, became king as Charles X. He and his supporters went so far that in July 1830 they provoked a popular rising, which drove him from the throne, and his supporters from power. He was succeeded by his cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, as 'King of the French', a man pledged to support liberal ideas. His rule is often known as the 'July monarchy'. He was a cunning man, and for ten years his government was tolerated by the country. He maintained a policy of friendship with England, and he pushed on the conquest of Algeria in North Africa, begun in the previous reign. But he was not an inspiring leader: indeed, he was a little ridiculous, with his long whiskers, and the French are quick to ridicule. Many Frenchmen were looking back to the great times of Napoleon, forgetting all the misery he had caused, and remembering only his military glory and the fascination of his personality. Others were looking forward to an entirely new order of things: these became known as 'Socialists'. After about 1840 the July



Louis Philippe, King of the French

monarchy grew more and more unpopular. Finally, in 1848, Louis Philippe was left with no support at all in the country. An unimportant dispute arose, which ended in a riot in the streets of Paris: this was not suppressed, and speedily developed into a revolution which turned him off the throne. 1848 was a great year for revolutions, as we shall see. France had clearly decided against the old order, and had definitely become one of the liberal states of Europe. The chief source of danger was the revival of the 'Napoleonic legend', which might mean that France would again become drunk with the desire for military glory and imperial power.

Holland and Belgium. Belgium had never been a free state. It had been in turn under Spain, Austria, and revolutionary France. At Vienna the congress decided to make Holland, long a kind of republic, into a monarchy: the *stadtholder*', the Prince of Orange, was to become king, and to have Belgium as well as Holland under his rule. The support given by Britain to this project was regarded to some extent as compensation to Holland for the loss of South Africa and Ceylon. A strong state, too, would be placed on the border of France as a guard against future aggression. Everyone was pleased, with the important exception of the Belgians themselves, who, though once, more than two hundred years before, united to Holland, greatly preferred to have the management of their own affairs. They were Catholics, and the Dutch were Protestants; but more important than this religious difference was the idea that they felt themselves to be a separate *nationality*. William, their Dutch king, did not handle them wisely, and when, in 1830, they heard that the French had risen against their own king, they followed this example and declared themselves free from Dutch rule. The Dutch king took up arms and defeated the rebels; but the new French king, with the support of the British government, backed up the Belgians with a threat of force, and the Dutch had to give way. It was some time before the other European powers would recognise the new government, which found a king in a German duke named Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. In 1839, however, five countries, Britain, France, Austria, Russia and Prussia, jointly agreed to recognise the new kingdom. At the same time they all guaranteed its freedom from invasion—its 'neutrality' as this is called. Napoleon once intended to fortify Antwerp, and said that it would have been 'a loaded pistol held at the head of England'. The British were always afraid that the French might seize Belgium again. They have never attempted to do so. But the neutrality of Belgium *was* violated in 1914, and again in 1940, by Germany.

Belgium remained under the same king for many years, and became very prosperous. Its great beds of coal and iron caused it to be quickly affected by the Industrial Revolution, and large-scale manufacturing industries arose which were not an unmixed blessing to this small country.

Holland has never been so great or so important as before the French wars. But the Dutch went on quietly, keeping out of wars, and maintaining their trade, especially that with their great colonial possessions in the islands of Southern Asia, till, to their surprise and dismay, they were drawn into the Second World War. Their homeland was invaded and occupied by Germany in 1940, and their Asian colonies by Japan two years later: after the war ended, these colonies broke away from them, and became the independent Republic of Indonesia.

South America. When the Portuguese royal family escaped from Lisbon to avoid capture by Napoleon's armies, they sailed to their great possession of Brazil. The rest of the South American continent, except for French, British, and Dutch Guiana on the north coast, and most of Central America, belonged to Spain. But the people living there were weary of the inferior kind of government which Spain and Portugal gave them. During the troubled time of the Peninsular War they had governed themselves, never acknowledging Joseph Buonaparte. Much fighting went on between those who wanted independence and the Royalists who supported the Spanish king's authority. In 1812 there arose in the north of the continent a man named Bolivar, determined to free his country. Up to 1818 he suffered many misfortunes and defeats; but after this the movement spread, and in 1821 he established the Republic of Colombia. This example was followed in other parts of South and Central America. Many British went to America to fight for him, and the British Government, too, was sympathetic. In 1823, in order to prevent the French from helping the Spanish royalists, the British Prime Minister, Canning, declared that Britain officially recognised the new states. By 1830 Spanish authority had disappeared from the mainland of South and Central America. In 1822 Brazil declared itself an independent empire under the rule of a member of the Portuguese royal family. This worked fairly well for many years, but finally in 1889 the country became a republic.

The history of the sixteen South and Central American republics during the nineteenth century was very stormy and unsatisfactory. The people seem to have been incapable of working properly the free institutions which they had gained. Power fell into the hands of corrupt and despotic presidents, and there was a series of unnecessary wars and revolutions, not yet over in some of the republics. In recent years, however, many republics have gradually been settling down to more peaceful conditions. There is no doubt but that the marvellous natural resources of South America will ensure a future of great prosperity, provided that the peoples work hard in developing them, and refrain from indulging in expensive wars with each other.

Other countries. The Vienna congress guaranteed the neutrality of Switzerland, and the old 'federal' system, by which each 'canton' (that is, district) kept some powers and gave the rest to the central government, was restored. In 1848 there broke out a fierce dispute between the Catholic and Protestant cantons: some of the great powers wished to interfere, but the British statesman, Lord Palmerston, prevented this. The cantons settled their own problems, and since that time no one has interfered with Switzerland. The country became a great resort for holiday-makers, owing to its beautiful mountain scenery, wonderful air, and 'winter sports'. It is sometimes called the 'Playground of Europe'. In Switzerland, too, is the town of Geneva, which was the headquarters of the League of Nations.

The Congress removed Norway from its old union with Denmark, and placed the country under the rule of the King of Sweden, but it was allowed to keep its own laws and customs. This worked quite well for a long time, but in 1905 the Norwegians decided to have their own king. The separation was effected quite peacefully, in a way which made it a model of a settlement brought about without bloodshed, and an example to the rest of the world.

The question of Turkey and the Balkans was not touched by the Vienna congress. The Greeks began to revolt against Turkish rule in the name of national freedom. They obtained independence in 1827, and set up a king of their own five years later, with the aid of certain great European powers. The story of this will be told in a later chapter, which deals with the gradual break-up of Turkish rule in the Balkan peninsula.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER VI

The progress of the freer states of Europe in the years following the Congress of Vienna is the subject of this chapter. The reform movement in Britain, and the July revolution in France, by both of which the middle classes were admitted to political power, showed the growth of liberal ideas. The breakdown of the Vienna settlement is clear from the accounts of the revolution in 1830 in France and Belgium, and of the revolt of the South American colonies of Spain and Portugal just previous to this. After 1830 the small countries of Holland and Switzerland, and the three countries of Scandinavia, made orderly and steady progress, and managed to keep for the most part out of serious internal troubles or international complications until Holland, Denmark, and Norway were ruthlessly invaded by the Germans in 1940, without any provocation, and held down by brutal methods of terror.

The remarks at the end of Chapter V about books apply equally to this chapter. For France, Bourgeois' 'Modern France', Volume 1 (1815–1852), will be found valuable and interesting. Butler-Clark's 'Spain (1815–1898)', and Edmundson's 'History of Holland,' are helpful. For Britain, perhaps Trevelyan's 'British History in the Nineteenth

Century' is as useful as, and more interesting than, most of the numerous other books on the subject. Weyman's 'Chippinge' is a good novel dealing with the Reform agitation.

Some Important Dates.

1812–1830. Career of Bolivar, 'Liberator' of the South American Republics.

1823. Adoption by the United States of the Monroe doctrine.

1823–4. Recognition of South American republics by Britain.

1830. Revolution in France: Louis Philippe 'King of the French'.

Belgium breaks away from Holland.

1832. Passing of the First Reform Bill in Britain.

1826–1846. Period of active reforming legislation in Britain.

1840–1848. Decline of 'July monarchy' in France.

CHAPTER VII

LIBERALISM AND REVOLUTION

The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. The French Revolution and the great wars had produced in many quarters a feeling hostile to liberal ideas, of which feeling several European governments took advantage. But the severe measures which they took changed this feeling to one of sympathy, and during the next twenty years or so the Liberal movement made great headway. People were becoming more and more resentful of autocratic rule, and more and more anxious to have a voice themselves in the selection of their own governments. We have already seen the results of this change in France and Belgium, as well as in Britain; the same feeling was strong in Germany and Italy, where it combined with 'nationalist' feeling to produce unrest which often ended in bloodshed, and finally in revolutions.

During the 'thirties of the nineteenth century we find the beginning of certain new ideas which were to be of great importance. These ideas are usually described as Socialist, and in these early days were very extreme and violent. The main notion was that everyone ought to be equal in every possible way; and Socialist attacks were directed chiefly against those who possessed private property, in which the early Socialists did not believe. As they usually advocated removing such property by violent means from those who had it, the movement was most unpopular with all property owners. It appealed, however, to a small number of people usually possessing little or no property: the violence of their words and sometimes of their deeds greatly alarmed all the governments of Europe. In later years the movement became more respectable and more popular, and its ideas became considerably altered in many ways. The real founder of the movement was an English manufacturer named Robert Owen, who was rightly indignant at the sad state of the British working classes: the more violent ideas, however, were put about by some French and German Socialists, of whom the most famous is Karl Marx. He wrote a book called 'Capital', published in 1867, which has had an enormous influence on the minds of many, and which is still the basis of much Socialist thinking, especially the type of Socialism called 'Communist' at the present day. The Socialists were in the nineteenth century closely identified in public opinion with the Anarchists, who wished for the destruction, by violence if necessary, of all existing institutions. Though actually the Socialist and Anarchist ideas are two very different things, followers of both were regarded by the governing classes for a long time as the enemies of society.

German Liberalism. The movement for self-government was particularly strong in Germany. We have already noticed the strong desire of the Germans for national unity, and many of them wished for one free government, instead of nearly forty which were mostly autocratic. The Prussian and Austrian governments took different views of this movement. Neither of them wished for self-governing institutions, but Prussia wanted German unity under Prussian leadership, while Austria was opposed to any kind of nationalism. The climax came in 1848, the great revolutionary year. As soon as revolution broke out in France, the German Liberals rose and demanded free parliamentary governments. Every ruler felt compelled to yield to these requests, fearing to lose his throne, except the Emperor of Austria where Metternich, now a very old man, was still chief minister. The people of Vienna rose in rebellion: Metternich resigned and fled, and their demands were granted. There was trouble, too, in Berlin, and here also the Prussian king gave way.

Having obtained these free institutions, the German Liberals now met at a great congress to bring all the German states under one government. This met at Frankfort, and among other things the congress determined to wrest the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, where there was a large German population, from the Danes, under whose rule they had been for some centuries. They raised and sent an army to do this, but it was defeated, and this failure brought the Frankfort congress into bad odour in Germany. The King of Prussia withdrew the concessions, and did away with the free constitutions he had granted. The ruler of Austria did the same, but before he did so many stirring events had happened.

The Revolutions in the Austrian lands. The exciting influence of the events of 1848 soon made itself felt in other parts of the Austrian Emperor's dominions, as well as in his capital city of Vienna. In Bohemia, in Hungary, and above all in Italy, it took the form of national risings. The people in these countries had long hated Austrian rule, and now they seized their chance. Their success would have meant the break-up of Austria-Hungary, and the Emperor sent out his armies. The Czech revolt in Bohemia was soon put down, but that of the Magyars in Hungary was more serious. All classes there looked back with pride and regret to the days when Hungary was an independent country. Their revolt was led by a great patriot named Louis Kossuth, and in 1849 they declared their independence. The Austrian armies were not strong enough to defeat them, and the new Emperor Francis Joseph called on the Czar of Russia for assistance. The latter was quite willing to help, fearing that the national movement would spread to the Poles. He sent an army, and Francis Joseph was also aided by a Slav subject of his own named Jellacic (pronounced Yellachitch). The Magyars had almost succeeded in capturing Vienna, but they were now defeated, and their revolt suppressed with much cruelty. Eighteen years later they obtained a great measure of self-government, but remained subjects of Francis Joseph.

In another chapter we shall consider the events in Italy, and see how in the end the Italians won complete independence. It is clear, however, that as far as the Austrian lands were concerned the Liberal and National movements had failed. The Austrian government remained so anti-National that there was constant trouble right up to the time when the Austrian Empire broke up as a result of the war of 1914–1918.

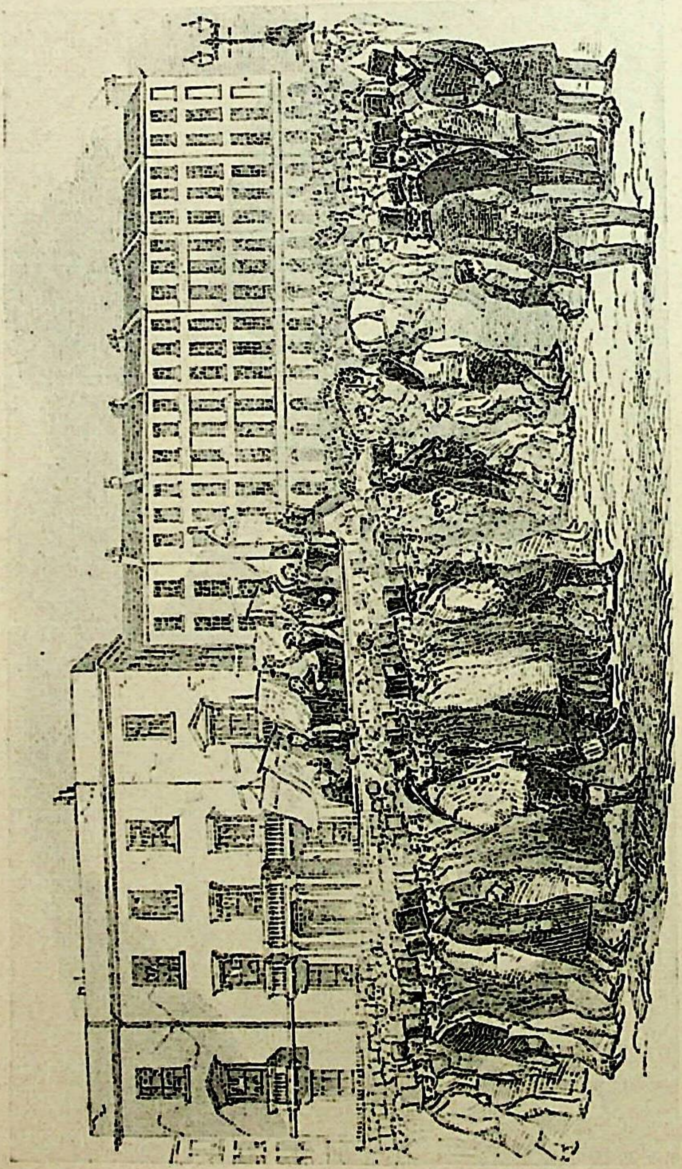
The Revolution in France and its aftermath. We saw in the last chapter how the French got rid of their king, Louis Philippe. After his flight a republic was set up. But the Socialists got out of hand, and proceeded to institute 'national workshops' on a great scale. The attempt was badly organised, and many workmen came to them to draw wages and to do no work. The authorities felt compelled to put an end to this expensive and useless experiment, with the result that the Paris Socialists rose in rebellion, and much blood was shed.

The classes who had property were thoroughly alarmed, and elected as their President Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, nephew of the great Napoleon. This man had had a curious career, and had already tried twice to overthrow Louis Philippe. He believed firmly that it was his destiny to set up the Napoleonic Empire once again. But though he was in many ways a clever man, and had many great ideas, he was not really able enough to fill the throne of his uncle. However, he did his best, and after some trouble with the Republican Assembly he set himself up as emperor in 1852, and by appealing to the whole population of France he got them to confirm his pretensions by a large majority of votes. He ascended the throne as the Emperor Napoleon the Third, regarding his uncle's son, who had died uncrowned, as the second Napoleon.

He was an enthusiastic Catholic, and was heartily supported by the powerful Catholic party in France. Although he ruled autocratically, he started many useful reforms, believing that if the French people were kept prosperous and contented, they would not bother about the form of their government. He encouraged trade and commerce, had great roads and railways built, and did much to make Paris the splendid city that it is to-day. But he severely put down all attempts to criticise his rule: he controlled the newspapers, and the teaching in the schools. He exalted the memory of the first Napoleon in every possible way, and for the time being most of the French were willing to accept this 'Second Empire'.

But he, and many of his subjects too, could not forget the great military deeds of the First Empire. He entered into the Crimean War against Russia without any really convincing reasons. This was fairly successful. He also interfered successfully in Italy, as we shall see, on behalf of Italian nationality against Austria. But although he defeated the Austrians, and did much for the Italian cause, he fell out with the Italians, and on the whole came out of the war without really increasing his prestige. Finally he became engaged in a war with Prussia, which brought about his downfall.

Events in the British Isles. Although at this time Britain enjoyed more freedom than most of the Continental countries, there were sections of the working classes who were not satisfied with the Reform Act of 1832, or with the bad conditions under which many of them had to exist. A movement grew up about 1837 which is known as the Chartist movement, so called because its leaders drew up a 'Charter' with six demands. These were for, (1) Manhood Suffrage, that is, every male over twenty-one to have a vote, (2) Payment of members of Parliament, (3) Voting by secret ballot to protect a voter from unfair treatment for using his free choice in voting for the candidate at an election in whom he believed, (4) Abolition of the property qualification for members of Parliament, so that any voter, however poor, could put up as a candidate, (5) Equal electoral districts, that is, every one area returning a member of Parliament to contain about the same number of voters, (6) A new Parliament to be elected every year. It is interesting to notice that the first four of these 'six points' have since become the law of the land, and that several attempts have since been made to carry out the fifth. However, the movement was not very strong, nor were its leaders very clever. An improvement was gradually taking place in the condition of the working classes, and people were becoming more interested



Part of a Chartist Procession at Blackfriars Bridge, London, 1848 in the question of 'Free Trade', that is, no duties on articles imported into the country, especially on corn. This Free Trade movement had been going on for some years, and came to a head in 1845 and 1846, when the decision was taken to get rid of the Corn Duties. After 1839 the Chartist movement seemed to die down, though the bad economic conditions which gave this period the name of 'the hungry forties' led to its revival in 1848. The Chartists drew up a monster petition, and announced that they were going to march in a great procession to present it to Parliament. But the government forbade the procession, and enrolled many citizens as special constables. The petition was brought, but many of the signatures were found to be fraudulent, so that it became an object of ridicule, which effectively put an end to the movement. This was the only real sign of unrest in Great Britain. The case was different in Ireland, where certain nationalists tried to stir up a rebellion. Many of the Irish had never been satisfied with the Act of Union of 1800, by which they lost their separate Parliament, and their efforts to get this act repealed were often of a violent nature. But the attempt was a complete failure, and after this for a time the Nationalist movement took a more peaceable form.

The failure of the Liberal movement. By about 1850 it seemed as if the forces of reaction had been quite successful. The men who led the revolutionary movements in the different countries were usually too unpractical or too inexperienced, and their ideas too high-flown to appeal to all their countrymen. Yet their efforts had not been fruitless. Before long all the German states, even Austria, granted constitutions which gave votes to many of their people, even though the power extended to them was usually very limited. The peasants everywhere were freed from the degrading condition of mere serfs, and became sometimes free tenants and often free proprietors owning their small patches of land.

Moreover, although the Liberal movement seemed to have failed, the same cannot be said of Nationalism. The fires kindled in 1848 smouldered in the breasts of oppressed peoples, and were to burst forth here and there till the great conflagration of 1914. We shall see how one of the main principles which moved those who had the task of making a peace settlement after that war was to give legitimate satisfaction to the feelings of the European nationalities.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER VII

The story of the way in which the Vienna settlement was broken up is continued in this chapter. The beginnings of the great movement called Socialism are indicated, with its effects as shown in the revolution of 1848 in France. 1848 was a great year for revolutions which combined in themselves the liberal and the national movements, particularly in Germany. Those in Italy and Hungary were mainly national, those in Austria and France mainly liberal: but for one reason and another they all failed. Henceforth the liberal and national movements tended to diverge from each other. National feeling in France led to a revival of 'Bonapartism' and a nephew of the famous Napoleon succeeded in making himself Emperor.

Four fascinating books on the Italian revolutionary movement have been written by Trevelyan: two of these concern the revolution of 1848; they are 'Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic', and 'Manin and the Venetian Revolution'. Fisher wrote two interesting books, 'Bonapartism' and 'The Republican Tradition in Europe'. For the movements in Germany and Austria-Hungary general books had better be consulted. There is a work by Howell on 'The Anarchist Movement'; and Podmore has written a *Life* of Robert Owen, who can fairly be styled the founder of Socialism. Karl Marx's 'Capital' is the main textbook of Socialism, and Salter has written on 'Karl Marx and the Socialist Movement'. The standard work on the history of this movement is by Beer, 'History of Socialism'; Shadwell's 'History of Socialism, 1824–1924' is also useful.

Some Important Dates.

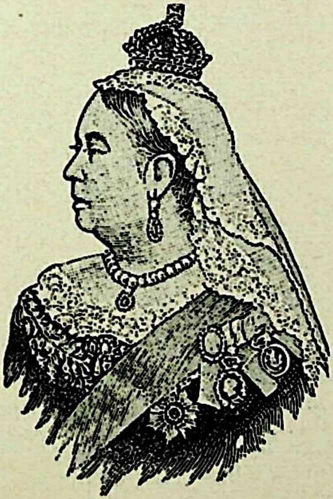
1830. 'July Revolution' in France.
1830–1848. Reign of Louis Philippe, King of the French.
1848. Revolutions in Italy, France, Germany, Austria and Hungary.
Chartist 'monster petition' in England.
Louis Napoleon elected President of the Second French Republic.
1849. Failure of the Frankfort Parliament.
Suppression of the Hungarian rebellion.
1852. Louis Napoleon became Emperor of the French.
1867. Karl Marx published first volume of 'Capital'.

CHAPTER VIII

VICTORIAN BRITAIN

General characteristics. While the countries on the continent of Europe were for the most part passing through troublesome times, Britain was prosperous and peaceful. Save for the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny in the 'fifties, and several smaller wars in her widely scattered dominions, for which quite small forces were usually necessary, there was no occasion for which the fighting forces of the country had need to be mobilised. The main energies of the British were concentrated on business, and throughout the century Britain succeeded in keeping the position, attained by the end of the previous century, of the leading manufacturing and commercial country of the world. Outside Europe there was a remarkable expansion and development of British dominion, with which we shall have to deal in a later chapter. It will be our business in this chapter to examine the character of life in Britain during most of the nineteenth century, to see how people lived and thought, and in what they were interested, and to examine some of the striking changes which gradually took place as the years went by.

The throne. On the death of George III in 1820, his son George IV came to the throne, after having acted for some time as sovereign during his father's illness under the name of 'the Prince Regent': his character and ways of life made him most unpopular. He was succeeded by his brother William IV, who was less disliked. But it cannot be said that the throne was a very popular institution, and there were many who thought that Britain might well develop quietly into an actual republic, which she seemed to be in all but name. These kings were succeeded by their young niece Victoria. During the whole of her long reign of sixty-three years she set an example of moral goodness and correct behaviour. Her good friend, Lord Melbourne, her first Prime Minister, taught her just what the position of a sovereign in a free country ought to be, and she strove to carry out what she learned from him to the best of her ability. She did not interfere unnecessarily with any department of government, though she insisted on knowing everything that took place, and was quite capable of reproving her ministers when she thought it necessary. She married her cousin Albert, the 'Prince



Queen Victoria

Consort' as he was called, whose blameless character and sound advice were always of the greatest assistance to her. After his death in 1861 Tennyson wrote of him as

'Modest, kindly, all-accomplished, wise,
With what sublime repression of himself,
And in what limits, and how tenderly;'

which, while not very good poetry, well described his character and position. The Queen and the country both owed much to this never very popular Prince. The general result was that towards the end of her reign Victoria became universally loved throughout the whole empire, and, as has been well said, she managed to 'embody in herself the sentiment of unity'. Moreover, she set up an excellent tradition of 'constitutional monarchy', which has been so magnificently followed by her successors that now the throne is firmly founded on the love and loyalty of its subjects.

The upper and middle classes. The old aristocracy gave up much of their political power with the passing of the 1832 Reform Act. But for a number of years they continued to hold the principal offices of state, without objection on the part of the middle classes, who were content to follow their leadership. They were also looked up to as the social leaders of the community, and on the whole, with the excellent moral example of the Court before them, were worthy of this. They admitted to their ranks more and more of the richer members of the middle classes, so that by the end of the century very many of the peerage were of middle-class origin. Thus the leaders of the country tended to be rather the rich than the men of ancient family. But it is in the middle classes—professional men, manufacturers, and traders, that the real interest lies, for the nineteenth century in Britain is clearly the era of middle-class dominance.

These classes were mainly interested in trade, but they were also interested in religious matters, and in politics. Outside these their main preoccupation was with sport, and there is little doubt but that the playing of games did much to develop the physique of the nation, and to give people in general ideas of 'fair play', and the habit of observing written rules and unwritten 'conventions'. Artistic and intellectual interests were less prominent, and middle-class society was too often dull and 'snobbish'. But it has to be remembered all the same that great strides were made in education. Many of the well-known English public schools were founded, for the benefit of the upper and middle classes who could afford to send their children to them, and these schools have had an immense effect on the character of English social life. Also a system of free schools for the children of the workers was established, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. The older universities were reformed, and thrown open to others than members of the Church of England; and some new universities were founded. During this period, too, some of the finest English literature was produced, as the names of Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson and Browning show. Not only this, but in many ways the scientists of Britain were the most famous in the world, and all kinds of discoveries were made by them which have had the effect of changing almost totally the old ways of living and thinking.

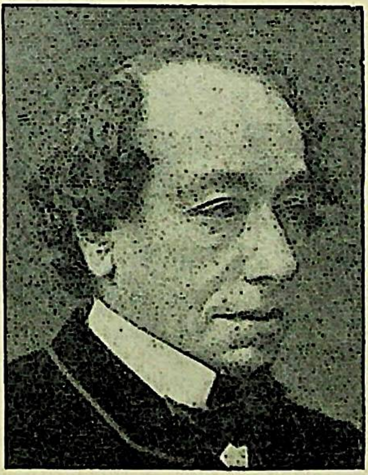
In religious matters there were two great revivals in the Church of England, the Evangelical and the Oxford movements. Unfortunately these two movements were in some ways opposed to each other, and much bitterness of feeling resulted. As education was mostly in charge of religious bodies, until the founding of government schools, this bitterness often had the unfortunate effect of holding up progress. These movements also found themselves in opposition to some of the new ideas put forward by men of science, and the resulting controversies often had ill-effects on public opinion, so that to-day the keen interest formerly taken in religious matters has relapsed into indifference on the part of many sections of the British people. A notable feature of the century was the enthusiasm for Christian missionary work at home and abroad; the latter had considerable effects on the foreign and colonial policy of British statesmen.

Interest in politics was largely directed into two channels. The more important of these was social reform, an attempt to abolish the last traces of class privilege, and to make the conditions of life more tolerable for everyone, especially for those who were poor and unable to protect themselves. Many 'Victorians', believing firmly in 'self-help', considered that the government of the country ought not to interfere unduly with its subjects: but the sentiments of kindliness and humanity proved themselves too strong for this feeling, and much was done to alleviate poverty and distress. The other channel of interest was the struggle between the two great political parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, and their leaders, for political power. The Liberals were not quite the same as the Liberals on the Continent, for the Conservatives were often just as willing to grant reforms as their opponents; indeed, it is not worth our while to enter into the controversies between these parties. Before they were really organised, the chief question was that of Free Trade. Once this was adopted, politics almost seemed to the British public like a great game played between two sides, led by the celebrated politicians Gladstone, captain of the Liberals, and Disraeli, captain of the Conservatives: this game was taken seriously, as the British always take their games. It must be remembered, however, that many of the issues over which they disputed were matters of great moment to the country's interests.

The labouring classes. The nineteenth century saw a wonderful improvement in the condition of the workers, both skilled and unskilled, though even at the end of it much was left to be desired. We have already noticed the bad side of the Industrial Revolution, how workers were underpaid and crowded into insanitary factory towns, and how much injustice and oppression resulted. It must not be imagined that they were particularly well off before the Industrial Revolution, but at least they could usually get good air and light. Some of the improvement in their condition was due to social reforms imposed by Parliament, through the agency of middle-class reformers. But there were also two ways in which they helped themselves. The first was by forming trade unions, that is, associations of workers in a particular industry. These unions built up funds by subscription, to use for the protection of workers and the raising of wages. In the early years of the century these associations were suspected of being revolutionary, and were often suppressed. But the workers persevered; they almost always used lawful means of agitation, and their unions became lawful institutions. Their chief weapon was the strike, but many of their leaders preferred to use less drastic measures, and to get improved conditions by agreement with the employers. Nevertheless, it was often impossible to get these employers to recognise these unions, or to concede higher wages, except by means of using the strike weapon. Towards the end of the century a more revolutionary feeling, like that of the earlier years of the century, crept in, for many of the workers' leaders were dissatisfied with the slow rate of progress, and many of them were inspired by socialistic or even revolutionary ideas.

The second way in which the workmen helped themselves was by means of co-operative societies. Some working men of Rochdale in Lancashire, who had saved small sums of money, put them together, thus raising a large sum. Next, they bought a shop, purchased goods wholesale, and sold them at prices rather below the ordinary prices, yet with a small profit. This profit they used partly for extending their activities, and partly to be divided among the original subscribers. The movement thus started in a small way became very great, and before long every large town in Britain had its co-operative store. Some of these became very large undertakings indeed, and even produced and manufactured the articles they sold; for example, one of them possesses its own tea estates in Ceylon. The workers also helped themselves by means of 'Friendly Societies', where each member paid a small subscription, and was assisted if he fell ill or out of work. Some of the older trade unions, too, undertook activities of this kind.

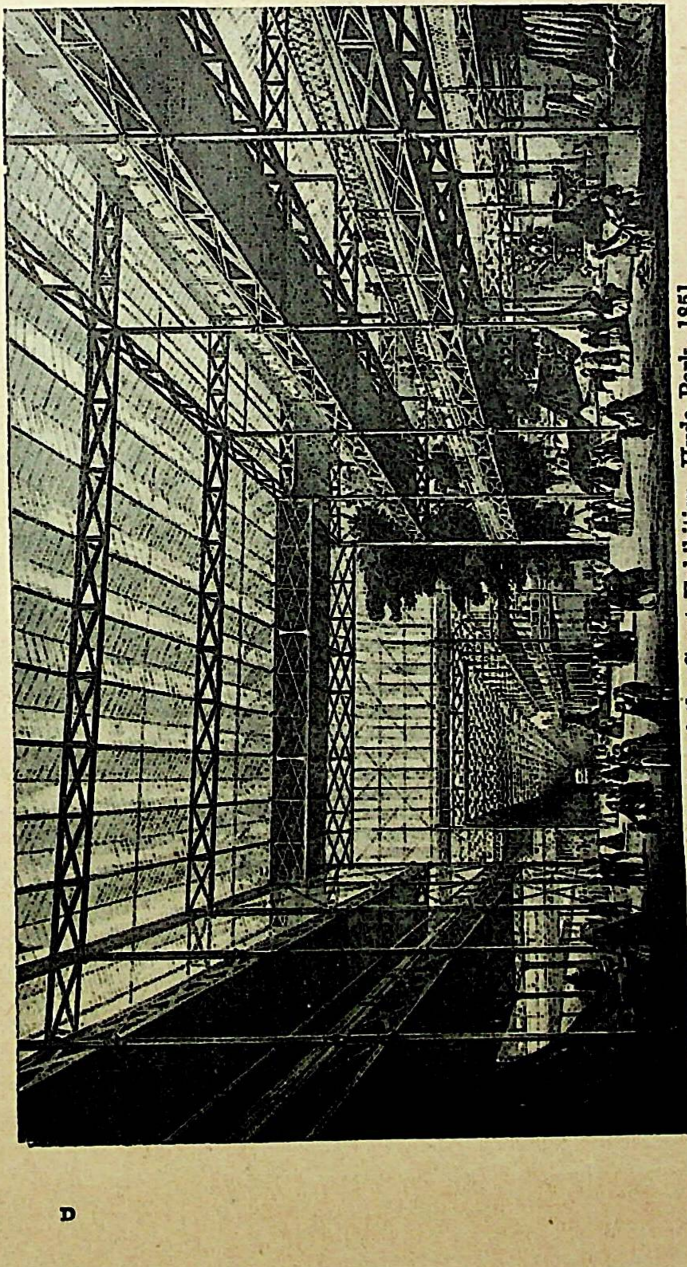
The general result of legislation to help the labouring classes, combined with their own efforts to help themselves, has been a very great improvement in the conditions under which they live and work. The number of trade union members in Britain has exceeded ten millions, men and women. Much still remains to be done, but bad trade conditions may cause great misery to many thousands. But there is no comparison between the well-being of a working-class family in Britain to-day and a century ago. Many men have risen from quite humble origins to be great industrial magnates and leading politicians, others to the front rank of learned men. All this is the fruit of efforts put forth in the reign of Victoria.



Bonjamin Disraeli (1804–81)

Extension of the franchise. Political power, too, began to pass from the hands of the upper and middle classes into those of the working classes, though the latter, like the middle classes after 1832, were for a long time content to leave the actual leadership and direction of policy in the hands of the former. In 1867 Disraeli, the Conservative leader, persuaded his party to give the parliamentary vote to householders in the towns, which included many industrial workers; and seventeen years later Gladstone and the Liberals gave it to agricultural labourers in the country on the same terms. In this stage the 'franchise' (that is, right of voting) remained until after Victorian times; finally in 1918 and 1928 it was extended to include everyone over the age of twenty-one years, not only men, but women as well. Many of the middle classes were much alarmed when this process of extending the franchise began, and feared a violent revolution: but their fears proved to have been groundless.

The end of Britain's industrial supremacy. For most of the nineteenth century Britain remained by far the most wealthy country in the world, being well ahead of all others in trade and manufacture. This gave the British a feeling of great self-satisfaction; they believed that British goods, made as they undoubtedly were for the most part well and honestly, would always have the greatest sale in the markets of the world. This 'complacency', as it has been called, is typical of Victorian Britain. But as the century went on, other nations learned how to make use of machinery, and the United States and Germany in particular were rapidly catching up with Britain in the competition for the world's markets. This was not realised during Victorian times, and Victorian complacency remained unshaken. But at the beginning of the present century British traders and manufacturers began to realise what was happening, and put forth great efforts to maintain their position, which they did on the whole with success up to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. It was this industrial strength and wealth which did so much to enable Britain to bear the main share of the terrible



Interior of the Great Exhibition, Hyde Park, 1851 financial burden of that war on behalf of herself and of her allies, and to win through in the end. But this effort was a fearful strain, while the lateness of the entry of the United States of America into the war enabled that country to profit enormously by the temporary incapacity of her trade rivals. By the end of the Second World War there was no doubt that the United States was the foremost industrial country of the world.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER VIII

This chapter deals with Britain in the reign of Queen Victoria, and with the condition and state of mind of the different social classes. It was pre-eminently a period of middle-class influence, but the reign saw great improvements in the condition of the labouring classes, and the opportunity given to them of exercising political power. Owing to the Industrial Revolution coming first in Britain, and to the preoccupation of the continental countries of Europe with the Napoleonic wars, Britain got a long start in the race for industrial supremacy, and imagined that this supremacy would be kept for ever. But as the century advanced other countries were rapidly catching her up.

Perhaps the best reflection of Britain in Victorian times is to be obtained from the novelists, from Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, and, much later, Galsworthy. A useful general survey of Britain from 1815 to 1918 is that by Butler, in the Home University Library. Lytton Strachey's book, 'Eminent Victorians', is clever, but hardly does his subjects adequate justice; he also wrote a *Life* of Queen Victoria. Much interesting information is to be obtained from the 'Letters of Queen Victoria' which were published under the editorship of Buckle. Trevelyan's 'British History in the Nineteenth Century' is the best general book. Voluminous *Lives* of Gladstone and Disraeli were published, the former by

Morley, the latter by Monypenny and Buckle. Maurois' 'Disraeli' is a lively account of that interesting character. For further study a list of books such as that published at the end of Marriott's 'England since Waterloo' should be consulted.

Some Important Dates.

1832–1846. Period of great legislative activity in Britain: passing of many acts improving administration and social conditions.

1837. Accession of Queen Victoria.

1845–6. Repeal of the Corn Laws: England became a 'Free-Trade' country.

1851. Great Exhibition in London ('the acme of Victorianism').

1867. Passing of Second Reform Act.

1884–5. Passing of Third Reform Act.

CHAPTER IX

THE FREEING OF ITALY

Young Italy. We have already seen that by the Vienna congress Italy was once more divided up, and apparently reduced to the same state of chaos in which it had been before the French Revolution. But in reality a great change had come. Italy had been united by Napoleon, and that idea of national unity did not die. The ideas of the French Revolution had spread too, and the breasts of many Italians harboured a burning desire for free government. Naturally their main enemy was Austria, the enemy of all liberal and national ideas, and the foreign power in Italy. The Austrians fully realised the situation, and did all they could to repress these ideas; and, as we have seen, their lead was followed by the rulers of the other Italian states.

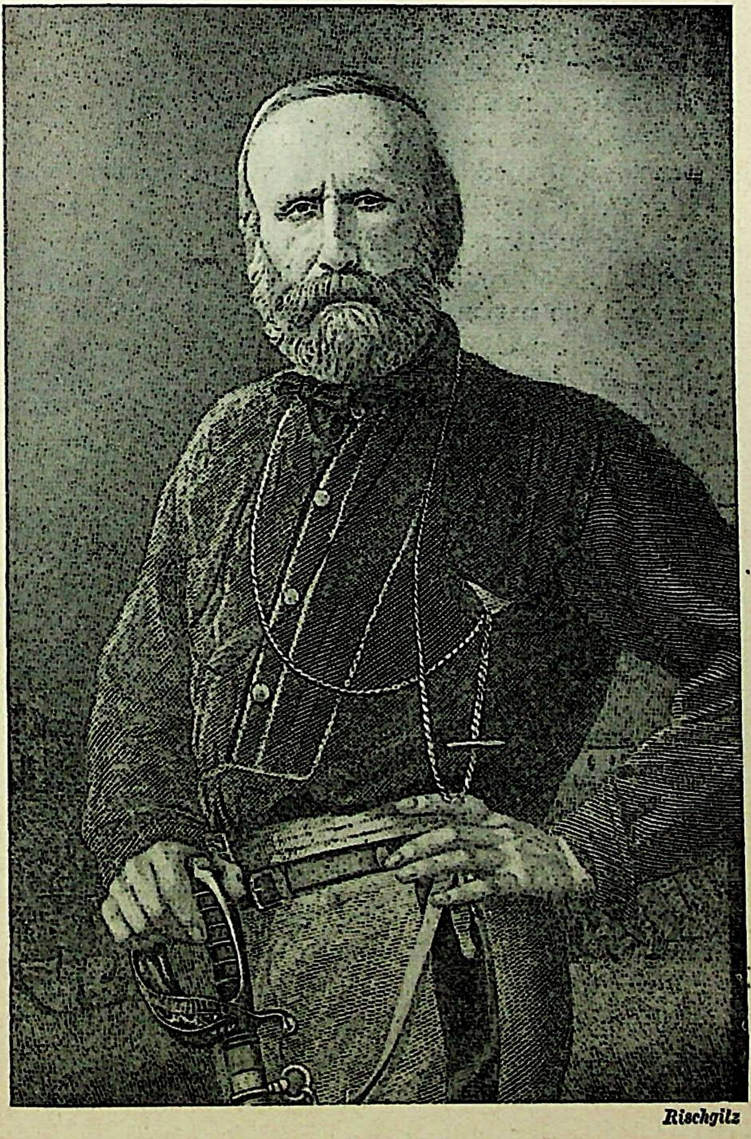
But the ideas slowly spread, at first by a secretly organised movement. Several secret societies, of which the best known was the 'Carbonari' (charcoal-burners), began to work against the despotic rulers. In 1820 there broke out in Naples a revolt, which was cruelly put down with Austrian help; but the secret societies continued to exist, and gave further trouble in 1830. In the next year a young man named Mazzini founded a society called 'Young Italy', which soon had members all over the peninsula. The object of this society was nothing less than the unity and independence of all the Italian peoples. Some of its members were hounded down and shot, but so great was the effect of their deaths, and so strong the spirit inspiring the society, that nothing could stop it. Charles Albert, the new king of Sardinia, took up the cause, and when the 'year of revolutions' came in 1848, it was the Italians who first took up arms, and the movement spread into a frenzy of national enthusiasm.

The 1848 Revolution and its failure. The actual stimulus to revolt came not from Sardinia, but from a quite unexpected quarter. Pope Pius IX, elected in 1846, was an enthusiastic Italian, and supported liberal ideas. Italian nationalists believed that they had found the leader they wanted. But they forgot that the Pope was more than an Italian ruler, that he was the head of the whole Roman Catholic Church, which included Austrians as well as Italians: it was impossible for a Pope to lead a purely national movement. However, the movement had been started: a revolt in Sicily forced the King of Naples to grant a free constitution, much against his will. But the most important events took place in Piedmont, the continental possession of the Sardinian king. Charles Albert declared himself in favour of Italian unity, granted a free constitution at the instigation of his adviser Count Cavour, and took up arms to aid the Italian subjects of Austria, who revolted in Lombardy and Venetia.

But the enterprise was doomed to failure. The Austrian army, well led and secure behind strong fortresses, was too powerful to be overcome by mere enthusiasm without military skill. The Italian nationalists were not united, for Mazzini wanted a republic. Charles Albert was defeated at the battle of Custozza and again at Novara, and was forced to resign his crown, and to let his son Victor Emmanuel make peace as best he could. The republican party went on fighting, inspired by Mazzini, and led by the famous adventurer Garibaldi. These men raised a revolt in Rome, but to their surprise and dismay Louis Napoleon of France, a keen Catholic and anxious to win Catholic support for his policy, sent French troops to support the Pope, and in spite of a marvellous defence by Garibaldi, the revolutionary Italians were turned out of the city. In Venice Daniel Manin put up a wonderful resistance to the Austrians, but here, too, mere valour could not succeed against trained and disciplined troops.

The great leaders of Italy. We have now met with the four men whose names are most closely associated with the uniting and freeing of Italy—King Victor Emmanuel, Count Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi. Mazzini escaped from Italy, and after this was never again able to take any active part in the movement he had done so much to start. Garibaldi got out of Rome, and appealed for volunteers in these wonderful words: 'I offer neither pay nor quarters nor provisions; I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles and death. Let him who loves his country in his heart and not with his lips only follow me.' Accompanied by a few followers, including his heroic wife, who died on the way, he made a perilous march right across Austrian territory to the Adriatic Sea, and escaped. The preparation by Mazzini, and the heroic adventures of Garibaldi had great effects on the minds of all Italians. But the real work was done by Count Cavour, who became chief minister of Sardinia in 1852, with the full and enthusiastic support of his royal master, Victor Emmanuel.

The freeing of North Italy. Cavour was a man of remarkable ability and clear-sightedness—probably the



Rischgilz

Garibaldi

ablest statesman of the nineteenth century. He saw two things in particular; that the only way to unite Italy was under the king of Sardinia, and that the only way to get rid of the Austrians was by the help of some outside power. Therefore he proceeded to make the kingdom as strong, contented, and prosperous as possible, by a series of well-planned reforms of a liberal type. He discouraged republican ideas, much to the annoyance of Mazzini and Garibaldi, but by very secret intrigues he encouraged the national unity movement in the rest of Italy. He was not particular as to the means which he adopted: he himself said once, 'If we did for ourselves what we do for our country, what rascals we should be!' But everything he did was devoted to one end—the creation of a free and united Italy.

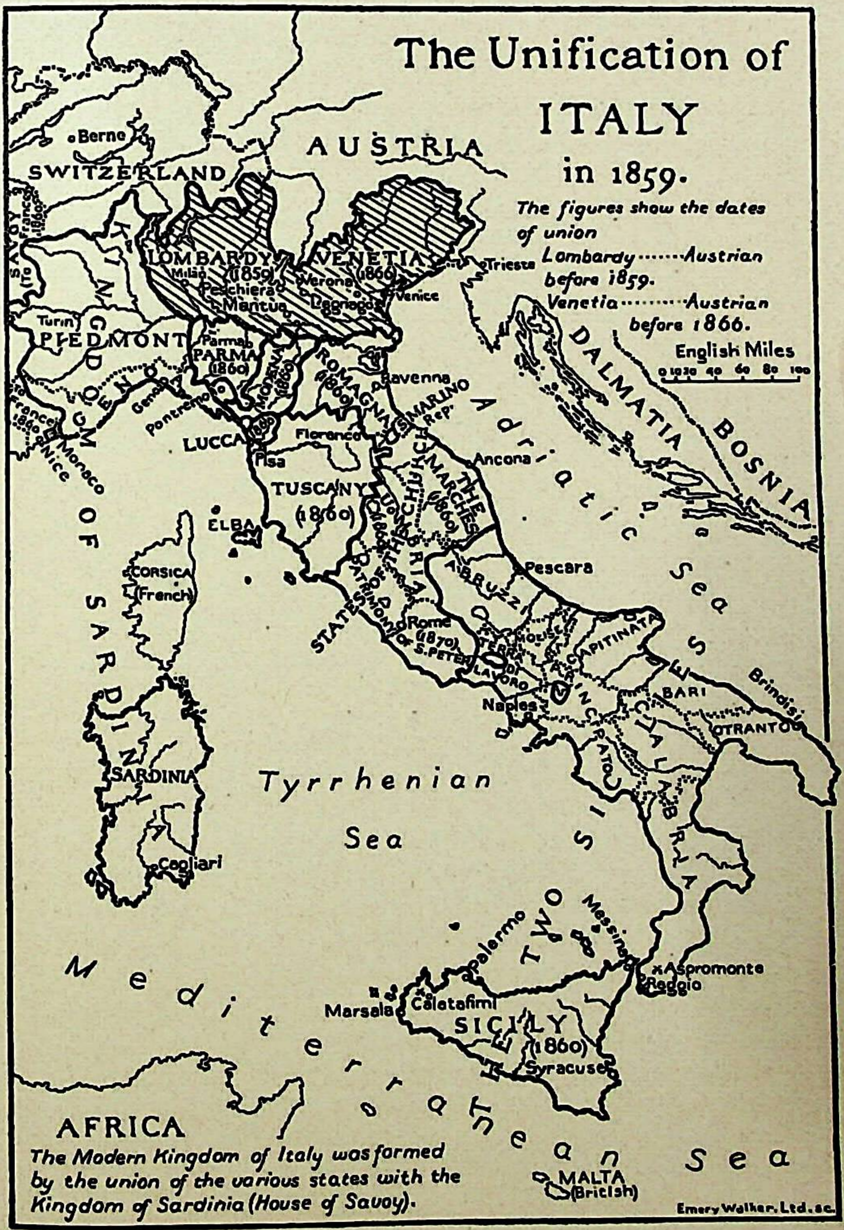
He knew that opinion in Britain was favourable, but he realised that while from that country he might get sympathy, he would not get armed help. So he made up his mind that this was to come from France. To everyone's astonishment he offered the services of the Sardinian army to help France and Britain in the Crimean War against Russia, thereby laying on those countries a debt of gratitude for the worthy part played by the little army in that war. In 1858 an Italian republican fanatic attempted to assassinate Napoleon III. Cavour at once went to see him, and not only pacified him, but persuaded him to make a secret treaty to come to the help of Sardinia if attacked by Austria. It was now Cavour's object to get Austria to attack his country: this he did with remarkable skill, making it appear that the Austrians were the aggressors. In 1859 they declared war on Sardinia, and at once Napoleon came to the aid of his allies. Once more the Italians rose everywhere, this time with high hopes of success. The French defeated the Austrians in the same year at the battles of Magenta and Solferino: in this campaign Garibaldi took part, and gained great credit by his handling of light troops called 'Hunters of the Alps' against the right flank of the Austrian armies.

But after this, to the intense rage and disappointment of Cavour, and indeed of all Italians, Napoleon suddenly withdrew and made peace. Lombardy was to be handed over to Sardinia, but the Austrians were to keep Venetia, and Italy was to be a kind of loosely joined federation under the presidency of the Pope. However, in the northern and central parts the peoples of the three ancient duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Modena cast off their rulers and threw in their lot with Sardinia. Napoleon III claimed the small territory of Savoy and the district of Nice as the reward of his help; and in spite of general opposition Cavour felt compelled to yield to his demands, in return for his recognition of what had been done in the three duchies. Savoy and Nice were among the prizes that Italy hoped to gain by her attack on France in 1940; but the Allied victories restored them to French hands.

In 1860 a most astounding adventure took place. With the secret connivance of Cavour, Garibaldi raised and armed a small force of a thousand men, wearing red shirts by way of uniform. In May this force made a surprise landing in Sicily, and carried all before it. Garibaldi took astonishing risks, and by September not only was Sicily in his hands, but he had taken his 'red-shirts' across the Straits of Messina under the very nose of the navy of Naples, and had added the continental dominions of the King of Naples to his remarkable conquests. He was already thinking of a march on Rome when the territories of the Pope were invaded by Victor Emmanuel with the army of Sardinia, and the Papal troops were defeated. This king pushed on to the fortress of Gaeta, whither the

King of Naples had fled, and there he met Garibaldi and his victorious 'red-shirts'. Although the hero had always been a republican, he realised that Cavour was right, and that the dream of a free and united Italy could only become a reality under the kingship of Victor Emmanuel. He handed over his conquests to that sovereign, refusing all rewards, and his action was confirmed by an overwhelming majority of votes taken of the people of Naples and Sicily. In 1861 the first Parliament of United Italy met at Turin, the capital of Piedmont. Victor Emmanuel was King of Italy, all Italy except Rome and Venice, and what had seemed to be the impossible aspirations of Italian patriots had been fulfilled.

The completion of Italian unity. Italy had not long to wait before Rome and Venice became part of the kingdom, though the manner of their winning was far less glorious than the earlier story. The great Cavour died only three months after the meeting of the first Italian Parliament, and none of his successors had anything like his ability. Rome was still held by a French garrison, and the capital city of Italy had to be Florence. This fact alienated Italy from Napoleon III, and caused her to seek an ally elsewhere. She found one in the rising power of Prussia, whose able statesman, Bismarck, saw clearly that an Italian alliance would be of great value in the coming war with Austria, which he had in mind. This war broke out in 1866, and though the Austrian army and navy defeated those of Italy, their main forces were so heavily beaten by Prussia that this defeat did not much matter, and Venetia, with its wonderful old sea-capital Venice, was yielded to Italy at last. Austria, however, kept the seaport of Trieste and the mountain valley of Trentine, which were not gained by Italy until after the war



The Unification of ITALY in 1859.

The figures show the dates of union

Lombardy ...... Austrian before 1859.

Venetia .... Austrian before 1866.

The Modern Kingdom of Italy was formed by the union of the various states with the Kingdom of Sardinia (House of Savoy).

English Miles
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
Berne
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
France 1860
LOMBARDY (1859)
Milan
Peschiera
Mantua
VENETIA (1866)
Verona
Legnago
Venice
Triesta
Turin
PIEDMONT
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Parma
PARMA (1860)
MODENA (1860)
ROMAGNA (1860)
Ravenna
S. MARINO Rep.
Genoa
Pontremoli
France 1860
Nice
Monaco
LUCCA
Pisa
Florence
TUSCANY (1860)
THE MARCHES (1860)
UMBRIA (1860)
Ancona
ELBA
CORSICA (French)
PATRIMONY OF S. PETER
STATES OF THE CHURCH
ABRUZZI
Pescara
Rome (1870)
TERRA DI LAVORO
MOLISE
CAPITANATA
PRINCIPATO
BASILICATA
CALABRIA
BARI
OTRANTO
Brindisi
Naples
DALMATIA
BOSNIA
Adriatic Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
SARDINIA
Cagliari
THE TWO SICILIES
Palermo
Messina
Aspromonte
Reggio
Marsala
Calatafimi
SICILY (1860)
Syracuse
Mediterranean Sea
AFRICA
MALTA (British)
Emery Walker, Ltd. sc.

of 1914–1918: the acquisition of these territories—Unredeemed Italy as they were called—was the main object of the Italians in joining the Allies against Germany and Austria in that war.

In the next year, 1867, Garibaldi, always brave but not very wise, raised troops and made an attack on the lands of the Pope. The Italian government refused to back him up, and his followers were defeated by the French garrison. This further alienated Italy from Napoleon III. Finally in 1870, when France was crushed by the new power of United Germany, the Italian forces quietly entered Rome, and Italy thus secured that historic city as her capital. The only unfortunate effect was that this led to a breach with the Pope, which continued for many years. In 1929 the matter was settled by an agreement, which made the Vatican City, a small area in the heart of Rome, a tiny state under the direct sovereignty of the Pope himself. Thus the structure of Italian unity was completed.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER IX

This deals with the long struggle and final success of the Italian people in their attempt to obtain unity and self-government. The attainment of complete unity took a little over a century, but most of the work was done between 1859 and 1871. The greatest credit of all was due to Count Cavour, but three other names, Victor Emmanuel, the king, Mazzini, the revolutionary organiser, and Garibaldi, the military adventurer, are imperishably associated with the movement. Italy had not been united under one single Italian government since the days of the Roman Empire, but the tradition of unity was never quite lost, and the impetus given by Napoleon I developed a burning national enthusiasm which no repression could extinguish.

The standard work is Bolton King's 'History of Italian Unity'. The two other books by Trevelyan, as interesting as any novel, are 'Garibaldi and the Thousand', and 'Garibaldi and the Making of Italy'. Another book is by Stillman, 'The Union of Italy, 1815–1895'. There are two *Lives* of Cavour, by Paléologue, a Frenchman, and by Countess Cesaresco, an Italian; both are available in English translations. The latter also wrote 'The Liberation of Italy, 1815–1870'. Forester's 'Victor Emmanuel II' is useful.

Some Important Dates.

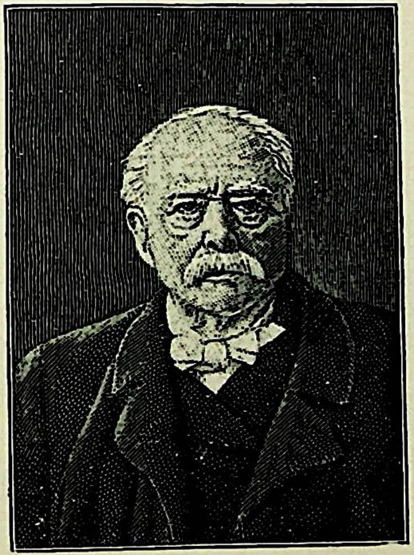
1831. Founding of 'Young Italy' movement by Mazzini.
1846. Election of Pius IX, the 'liberal Pope'.
1848. Revolution in Rome and other parts of Italy.
1849. Charles Albert of Sardinia forced to abdicate: succeeded by Victor Emmanuel II.
Failure of revolutionary movement.
1852. Cavour becomes chief minister to Victor Emmanuel.
1859. War with Austria: battles of Magenta and Solferino.
1860. Capture of Sicily and Naples by Garibaldi.
1861. Proclamation of Kingdom of Italy.
1866. Venetia gained through Prussian alliance.
1870. Capture of Rome.
1919. 'Unredeemed Italy' gained from Austria.
1929. Peace made between the Italian kingdom and the Pope.

CHAPTER X

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Aftermath of the 1848 Revolution. We saw in the fifth chapter how Prussia, by means of the Customs Union, became the leading state of Germany, and how it seemed to patriotic Germans that in Prussia lay their best hopes of unity. We saw further, in Chapter VII, how in 1848 the Liberals of Germany tried to create an efficient union on the basis of a free constitution with middle-class leadership. Their efforts were doomed to failure. In 1849 Austria refused to join the new union. The Assembly then drew up a constitution of a liberal type and invited Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, to be German Emperor. After some hesitation he declined this offer because it came from a Liberal body. He made a few rather feeble efforts to increase Prussian influence in the rest of Germany; but advantage was taken of the general confusion by the Austrian minister, Schwarzenberg, who used force to suppress some armed outbreaks, and then to restore the old '*Bund*'. To this Frederick William weakly assented, thereby losing much credit. For the time being it seemed as if Austria had triumphed, and the German Liberal movement entirely collapsed. Though many Germans still cherished Liberal ideas, the forces of reaction were everywhere successful.

The rise of Prussia to greatness. In 1861 Frederick William IV was succeeded by his brother, William the First, a far abler man. He believed in the unity of Germany, but was convinced that such a unity was only to be obtained under the leadership of Prussia, and by military force. With the aid of a wonderful organiser named von Roon he introduced wide changes into the Prussian army, including a new breech-loading weapon known as the 'needle-gun', with which he armed the infantry, in place of the old musket: the new weapon could be fired far more rapidly, and was much more accurate. When the Prussian assembly showed signs of demanding liberal reforms, he refused them. The King next sent for Otto von Bismarck, a Prussian nobleman of astounding ability, to be his chief minister, and with his aid the opposition of the assembly was overcome. Bismarck now set himself to achieve the great object of Prussian ambition—the union of Germany under Prussia. His method, as he



Bismarck

himself said in a famous phrase, was not by speeches and resolutions, but 'by blood and iron'. To this end he showed remarkable skill as a statesman, and a truly marvellous capacity for looking ahead far beyond his immediate object, combined with utter unscrupulousness and a disregard for all principles of truth and honesty. He believed himself justified in casting aside all moral principle on account of the greatness of the end in view. He saw that the first object of his policy must be the entire destruction of Austrian influence. Therefore when Austria put forward proposals for the reform of the German '*Bund*', Prussia would not agree. In the meantime neither trouble nor expense was spared in making the Prussian army as numerous and efficient as possible, and the Prussian people, by the direct encouragement of trade and industry, as prosperous and contented as possible. Nevertheless many Prussians still objected to Bismarck's methods, and he had much difficulty in overcoming their opposition: not until military glory was combined with great prosperity and national patriotism did the Liberals of Prussia relapse into comparative silence.

The Danish and Austrian wars. One of the first things which Bismarck did was to come to an understanding with Prussia's powerful eastern neighbour, Russia. This was done over the question of Poland, where he supported the Czar of Russia in putting down an insurrection. This understanding was to come in useful later on.

Next in 1863 came up once more the question of Schleswig and Holstein. Here Bismarck made a temporary alliance with Austria, and the two countries jointly invaded the provinces and defeated Denmark. The free states of Europe were indignant, as the new allies had both signed a treaty, eleven years before, settling this difficult question without depriving the Danish king of his sovereignty. But there was no intervention, and Schleswig and Holstein were ceded to Prussia and Austria jointly.

Bismarck now had to isolate Austria from all possible outside support. He made alliance with the new power of Italy; he managed to delude Napoleon III into neutrality; he already had an understanding with Russia; and he believed, correctly, that Britain would not interfere. Only a few other German states supported Austria. He now proceeded to provoke a quarrel—no difficult matter. It broke out first over the Schleswig-Holstein question, and finally over a proposal by Prussia to make a complete reform of the Germanic '*Bund*', leaving out Austria altogether. In 1866 war was declared, and most people outside Prussia expected a long struggle with probably an Austrian victory at the end of it. But the Prussians had several points in their favour. They had a remarkable leader, von Moltke, who with the help of an able staff of officers had a plan thoroughly worked out beforehand, and completely ready to be put into execution. They had the new needle-gun, far superior to the Austrian infantry weapon, and in several other military details they had the advantage also. The whole army had been reorganised by von Roon on a basis of short service, but the Prussian soldiers who had received a short training were as good as, if not better than, the Austrians, whose training had been longer. The results astounded the world. In seven weeks the Prussian armies had invaded Bohemia, which was Austrian territory, and had inflicted on the main Austrian army a crushing defeat at the battle of Sadowa (or, as the Germans call it, Königgrätz).

King William I contemplated a triumphal march into Vienna. But Bismarck would not have it. He hastened to make terms with the South German states who had supported Austria, and with Austria herself. The latter lost Venetia to Italy, and was excluded from the Germanic Confederation. There was an extension of Prussian territory, including Hanover (from which George I had come to the throne of England), and the famous old 'free city' of Frankfort, the meeting-place of the Assembly of the Confederation. The old '*Bund*' itself was done away with, and a new 'North German Confederation' formed, entirely under the dominance of Prussia. With this power the South German states of Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt had made treaties, and it was now Bismarck's object to bring them into the Confederation, and to weld that body into a firm unity.

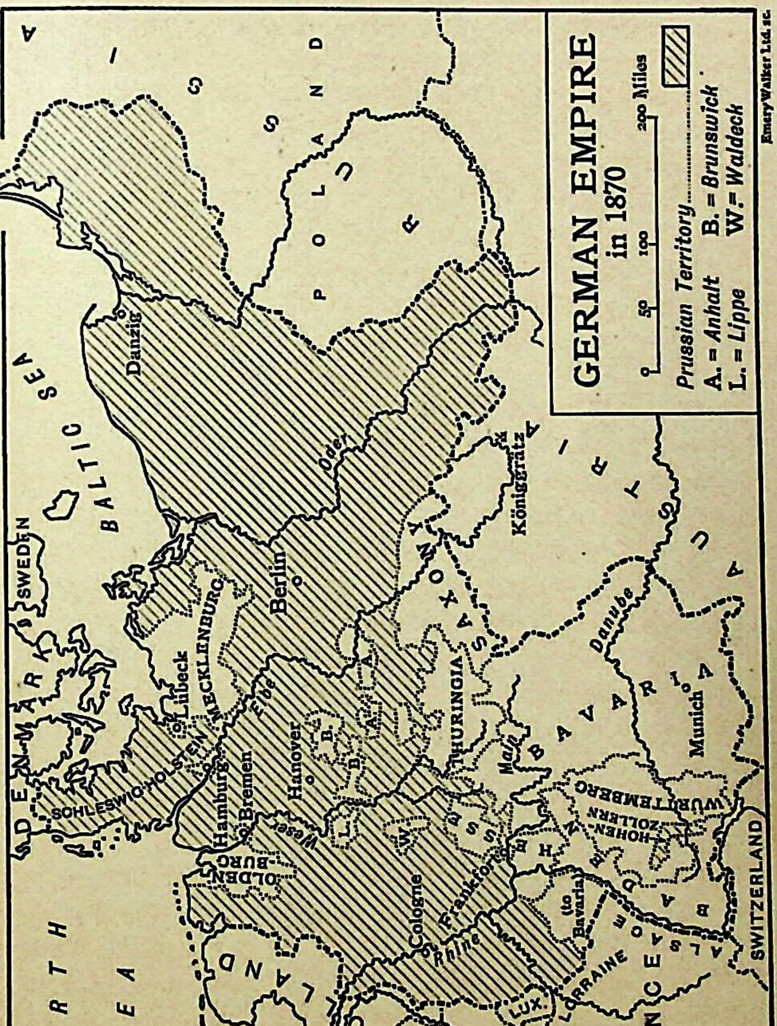
Napoleon III and Bismarck. One great reason which moved Bismarck to make peace with Austria on such lenient terms was the attitude of France under Napoleon III. To understand this it will be necessary to see what had happened to that country during the period which we call the Second Empire. We have already seen that he had fought successful wars against Russia and Austria, thus making France the leading power in Europe. But neither of these wars had done either him or his country any real good, and his subsequent actions with regard to Rome had lost him Italian gratitude without gaining the support he had hoped from the French Catholics. The republicans had never lost their influence in Paris and the other great cities of France. Many famous literary men, Victor Hugo in particular, had made his name unpopular by their writings. He gradually lost credit in the minds of his own countrymen, and this was made worse by a rash and unsuccessful interference in Mexico, where he set up Maximilian, brother of the Austrian Emperor, as Emperor of Mexico. Later on he withdrew his support, and the unfortunate Maximilian was shot by his political opponents. However, the final downfall of the Second Empire came from outside.

When the Danish war broke out, Napoleon III was vaguely sympathetic with ideas of German national unity, and did not interfere. When he saw war between Austria and Prussia coming, he rejoiced to think of those two strong countries at each other's throats, believing that in the end France would be able to interfere with consequences profitable to herself. But the rapid victory of Prussia filled him with anger and alarm. Even before, he had been vaguely inclined to interfere on behalf of Austria, which helps to explain why Bismarck made peace so speedily. It was clear to the French that a great new power had arisen, strong enough to challenge French predominance in Europe. One of the French marshals said 'It is France that was beaten at Sadowa', and his words were terribly true, as events were to demonstrate.

After this Bismarck showed himself far too clever for Napoleon III and his ministers. He was approached by them with a demand for compensation in territory as a reward for French neutrality in the Austrian war, and French consent to the extensions of Prussian territory which resulted from that war. He got them to state their demands in writing; they were for either the Rhine frontier, or Belgium. Bismarck at once refused, and informed the South German states that Napoleon had demanded part of their territory, to their great indignation. The French then demanded the little state of Luxembourg, which demand only further irritated the Germans. As a result Bismarck was able to sign military treaties of alliance with all the South German states.

In 1867 the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph made a settlement with his Hungarian subjects, admitting Hungary to a practical equality with Austria in his diversified empire. The Hungarians were the strongest non-German element there, and he pacified them at the expense of various less powerful minorities like the Roumanians and the various Slav races. This showed Bismarck that Austria had no longer any intention of disputing with Prussia the leadership of Germany, but that her ambitions lay in the other direction, the south-east. It was this settlement and this ambition which produced that discontent and fear among the Slav races which had so much to do with the outbreak of war in 1914.

The Franco-Prussian War. The relations between France and Prussia became more and more strained. Bismarck thought that a successful war would be the best means of cementing together the new Confederation, and of bringing the other German states into an even wider union: but he was also nervous about what Napoleon might do to establish again the political leadership of Europe which he seemed to have lost by the rise of Prussia. The newspapers on both sides did all they could to make matters worse—one of the most noteworthy instances of what harm the Press can do when it fails to show moderation, and incites its readers to extremes. Feelings grew very bitter, and the final outbreak of war came about over a matter which was quite trivial—a disputed succession to the throne of


GERMAN EMPIRE
in 1870
0 50 100 200 Miles
Prussian Territory
A. = Anhalt B. = Brunswick
L. = Lippe W. = Waldeck
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
POLAND
AUSTRIA
BAVARIA
SAXONY
THURINGIA
HESSE
BADEN
WÜRTEMBERG
HOHENZOLLERN
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
ALSACE
LORRAINE
LUX.
BELGIUM
HOLLAND
OLDENBURG
MECKLENBURG
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
Danzig
Berlin
Lübeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Cologne
Frankfort
Munich
Königgrätz
(to Bavaria)
H.
A.
B.
L.
W.
Oder
Elbe
Weser
Rhine
Main
Danube

Spain in 1870, in which neither party can be said to have been vitally interested, and which could very easily have been settled by negotiation. Other countries, notably Britain, tried to persuade them to come to a peaceful settlement, but they were both determined to fight.

Napoleon III hoped for the alliance of the South German states, but they were angered by his former demands for the Rhine frontier; and for that of Austria. In the latter case there came in Bismarck's understanding with Russia, whose leaders warned Austria that interference on behalf of France would mean Russian interference on behalf of Prussia. He thought that Italy might support him, but the Italians had not forgiven the presence of the French garrison at Rome, and moreover were grateful to Prussia for getting them Venetia. Bismarck now saw fit to publish Napoleon's demand for the cession of Belgium, which had the effect of turning from the Emperor the sympathy of Britain. In consequence of the Prussian statesman's able diplomacy, therefore, France was left without a single ally.

Nevertheless the French armies had a great reputation. It was generally held that their new rifle, the '*chassepot*', was just as good as the Prussian needle-gun, and one of their generals boasted that they were ready 'down to the last button on their gaiters'. But this boast was soon found to be the exact opposite of the truth. The German armies were magnificently organised, and as in the Austrian campaign, the German General Staff had everything worked out beforehand, so that the generals and their armies knew exactly what to do. The French armies had been recently reorganised, but the new organisation was not nearly complete, nor had the French marshals a properly worked-out plan of campaign to meet that of the great German commander von Moltke. The German armies were ready first, and struck their opponents so hard in a series of great battles that a large French force was cut off and besieged in the fortress of Metz. When another large force, accompanied by the Emperor Napoleon himself, attempted to raise the siege, he and all his troops were surrounded and captured at the crowning disaster of Sedan. All this was done in about six weeks.

The Germans advanced rapidly on Paris, where a revolution had broken out which overthrew the Empire and set up a republican government. The latter tried to make peace, but as yet Bismarck would have none of it. Under a young republican of remarkable energy Gambetta by name, the French raised fresh armies,' and put up a very fine resistance; but the well-trained German forces were too strong, and at the beginning of 1871 Paris, which had been besieged since the previous September, was forced to yield.

Results of the war. Bismarck imposed severe terms on France—a great sum of money as a war indemnity, and the loss of the two frontier provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. For this loss the French nation did not forgive the Germans. The Third French Republic, which was set up during the war and organised on a permanent basis in 1875, lasted till France's overthrow by the Germans in 1940.

Bismarck and the Prussians now achieved their ambition. In the Great Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, in the old palace of the French kings, William the First of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor, with Bismarck as his Imperial Chancellor. A new constitution was framed, based on that of the North German Confederation, including every German state save Austria. A great new power had come into existence, the German Empire, based on the military state of Prussia. German unity had been obtained; but in a manner very different from the hopes of the German Liberals who had failed in 1848.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER X

The unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia is dealt with in this chapter. First of all came the elimination of Austria from German affairs, by a successful war, and then the welding together of the remainder of the German states by similar means—the Franco-German war of 1870–1871. Much interest lies in following the clever policy of Bismarck, the man mainly responsible for achieving German unity on these lines, using methods of 'blood and iron', but also those of subtle intrigue and brilliant diplomacy. The character of the new German Empire was strongly influenced by the means employed to create it, and for some years the dominance of Prussia was assured.

'The Evolution of Modern Germany', by Dawson, is a very useful book for following this story closely. It would also be well to read 'The Evolution of Prussia' (Marriott and Grant-Robertson) to understand how the Prussian leadership of Germany was achieved. *Lives* of Bismarck have been written by Headlam and by Grant-Robertson. A German named Ludwig has written interesting popular biographies of Bismarck and of Kaiser Wilhelm II; these are somewhat coloured by political prejudice: they are available in English translations.

Some Important Dates.

1833. German 'Zollverein' started by Prussia.
1848–9. Failure of German 'Liberal Revolution'.

1861.	Accession of William I to the throne of Prussia.
1862.	Bismarck chief Prussian minister.
1863.	War with Denmark, which lost Schleswig-Holstein.
1866.	'Seven Weeks' War' with Austria.
1867.	North German Confederation formed.
1870.	Franco-German war.
1871.	Fall of Paris. Peace dictated to France. Proclamation of German Empire at Versailles.

CHAPTER XI

RUSSIA TO 1914

The lands of the Czar. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the vast country of Russia occupied a most important place in European affairs. A glance at the map shows us the tremendous extent of Russian territory in Europe as compared with that of any other European state: and east of Europe we see an even vaster area stretching right across the north of Asia to the Pacific Ocean. The majority of the population in this area was and is of 'Slavonic' (or 'Slav') race. In the nineteenth century the Czar also ruled over Finland, where lived people of another race, and Poland, where the people, although of Slavonic race, were of a different religion—Roman Catholic, not Greek Orthodox like most other Slavs; both the Finns and the Poles bitterly resented the domination of Russia. In Asia during that century the Russians pushed their borders south-eastwards, extending their rule over the peoples of the Caucasus mountains and the Mongolian Tartars of Turkestan, till they reached the borders of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. This great expansion caused serious anxiety to the British in India, and did much to contribute to the bad feeling which existed between Britain and Russia during the century.

Over all these lands and peoples reigned the Czar, a completely autocratic ruler. On him the members of the nobility were completely dependent; and to the nobility belonged the great majority of Russian officials.

Most of these were far from the central governments and the communications over so vast an area were slow and difficult; in consequence the government in many parts was corrupt and often very cruel. Those of the nobility who were not officials stayed on their estates where they had great power over the peasants who lived in them. The majority of these peasants were serfs, bound to the land, a condition from which the English peasants had been freed as long ago as the Middle Ages. They were quite ignorant and uneducated,

A typical Moujik (peasant) [*E.N.A.*

and they suffered many hardships and evils without resisting, perhaps even without resenting them. Religion —the Greek Orthodox Church—had a great hold on them: and this Church was largely under the control of the Czar. The middle classes, which played so important a part in other European countries, counted for very little in Russia. Such traders as existed were not infrequently foreign or Jewish, and in Russia the Jews were hated and despised. Neither were there many professional men: and such as there were had often received a rather poor education.

Russia and Europe. Under the great Empress Catherine II Russia had pushed back the Turkish power and had got a footing on the Black Sea coast. Her successors were very anxious to expand further to the south-west, and cast covetous eyes on the Turkish possessions in Europe, above all on Constantinople. For this there were several reasons. In the first place, the possession of Constantinople would give them free access by sea to the Mediterranean. Secondly, Constantinople had been in former ages the very centre of the Greek Orthodox religion: and now the wonderful old church of Saint Sophia was a Turkish mosque. Thirdly, the Balkan peninsula was mainly populated by peoples belonging to the Slavonic race and to the Greek Orthodox Church: they were at times severely oppressed by the Turks, whose government was both corrupt and inefficient. With these peoples the Russians felt great sympathy, and the Czar was anxious to extend to them his protection and perhaps his rule.

In the first half of the nineteenth century this extension of Russian influence to the south-west was the main object of the Czar's policy, once the menace from

Napoleon I had been withdrawn. But this was opposed by the other countries of Europe. Austria had interests in the Balkans, and since she bore rule over many Slavonic subjects, she was naturally nervous of the sympathy which the Russians had with them. Britain was afraid of Russian expansion eastwards, and, after the opening of the Suez Canal later on in the century, feared that the new sea route to India would be threatened. France for various reasons supported Britain. Therefore the desire of Russia to take the place of Turkey in the Balkan peninsula was generally unpopular. It was the jealousy of Russian influence that led France and Britain into the Crimean War against Russia in 1854–1855. This war was conducted without much military skill, though with a great deal of bravery, by both sides. It consisted mainly of the siege of Sebastopol, the Russian naval port on the Black Sea, and of the Russian attempts to raise the siege. Incidents like the charge of the British Light Brigade at the battle of Balaclava have made it famous, but, as a French marshal said at the time of that brave but rash exploit, 'It is magnificent, but it is not war.' The only point really settled by the treaty which brought the war to an end was that Russia was forbidden to have a fleet on the waters of the Black Sea. However, in 1870, when France was crushed by Prussia, the Russians made use of their understanding with Bismarck to break this arrangement, to the great indignation of the British. But it may be said that the real effect of the Crimean War was to check for some time Russian interference with Turkish territory, and to turn their interests in the direction of expansion in Asia.

In the 'seventies Russia again turned her attention to Turkey. For some ten or twelve years she had been doing everything possible to encourage a movement called 'Pan-Slavism'. This was intended to draw closer the racial ties which bound together the Slavonic races. It resulted among the Slav people in the Balkan peninsula in great unrest, which the Turks tried to suppress with great cruelty. Russia protested, and finally made war on Turkey in 1877. The Turks put up a very brave resistance; after the Russians had beaten it down and imposed terms of peace, the European 'great powers' interfered, and had them settled afresh at a congress held in Berlin. The growth of free Slavonic states in the Balkans was encouraged, and thereby Russian influence was checked, for these states wanted independence rather than the rule of Russia. Once more the Russians turned to plans for expansion in middle Asia, which increased the bad feeling with Britain. All through the second half of the nineteenth century British statesmen were apt to regard Russia as the most unfriendly of the European countries. This Russian expansion also led, in 1904, to a war with Japan, in which the Russians were heavily defeated.

The internal affairs of Russia. The Czar Nicholas I, who died during the Crimean War, had been sternly autocratic, and had repressed every attempt at reform. Although he was a very energetic ruler, he had not been able to overcome the inefficiency and corruption of the Russian officials. This was badly shown up during the Crimean War, when the Russians were unable to defeat the comparatively small forces sent by the French and British. This failure led to much discontent in Russia, and the new Czar, Alexander II, was determined to improve matters. He was not against reform, and the first thing he did was to free all the serfs from bondage, and turn them into peasant proprietors. This was a noble deed, but the results were not all good. Many of the freed serfs got heavily into debt, especially to the Jews: in consequence there were frequent riots and massacres directed against this race. About the same time the effects of the Industrial Revolution were at last spreading to backward Russia, and towns were growing. But conditions of labour in the new industries were bad, and the industrial town workers were often highly discontented. During the 'sixties a measure of local self-government was brought in, and local councils called '*Zemstvos*' were chosen by the people, which on the whole were fairly successful. There was a certain amount of education provided, but those who received it only became more discontented: in their minds and in those of the workmen this discontent produced very revolutionary feelings. Any outward signs of such feelings were severely repressed by the government, which instituted a system of police spies: anyone suspected of being a revolutionary was arrested and sent to exile in Siberia, a vast distance away, from whence exiles hardly ever returned. This only drove the revolutionaries to desperate courses, and they took up a movement called '*Nihilism*', very much like Anarchy: the object of this was the destruction of all existing institutions, which seemed to them so bad that they could not possibly be reformed. Many crimes were committed with bomb and dagger against officials, and in 1881 one of these Nihilists murdered the Czar Alexander II himself, although he had just been attempting to bring in further reforms. This murder stopped progress and promoted reaction; the governments of Alexander III and of Nicholas II (who succeeded him, and who was to be the last of the Russian emperors) were for many years sternly autocratic.

The Russian failure in the war against Japan, a failure largely due to the incompetence of military leaders and officials, caused a renewed outburst of discontent. In 1905 a priest named Father Gapon organised a general strike of factory workers in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). This was put down with bloodshed. But the discontent went on, and the Czar's advisers recommended him to establish a Parliament, known as '*The Duma*'. However, no real powers were given to this assembly, and on two occasions it was dissolved without having effected much. Finally a new Duma was chosen by a very small section of the people, and in reality had very little practical effect on the Russian government. In this condition Russia remained until the outbreak of the First World War. The Russian government was by no means unwilling to engage in this war, for it hoped that discontented people would turn their attention to fighting and war-work and away from agitation against their political grievances, and that great military successes would restore the credit of Russian statesmen. But the final result was to bring down the system of autocracy with a resounding crash.

Cultural and economic. During the half-century before 1914, Russia made considerable progress in civilisation. The peasants, it is true, remained generally poor and ignorant, but some of the middle classes and nobility became highly cultured. It was from these '*intelligentsia*', as they were called, that many revolutionaries came, as well as a number of famous writers. Perhaps the best known is the celebrated Count Tolstoy, whose writings made a deep impression throughout Europe.

Though much of the big business was in the hands of foreigners, especially Germans, many industrial enterprises were begun, often with direct State encouragement.

Russia became one of the world's chief wheat-exporting countries. Railways and telegraphs were constructed on a great scale, the most interesting of all being the Trans-Siberian Railway, which runs right across the north of Asia to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Most of this was done by the government, which also took over the whole of the drink trade, so that the sale of '*vodka*', a strong spirituous drink, became a very profitable State monopoly.

The subject peoples. During these years the subject races of Russia suffered considerably. The policy of the Russian government was narrowly 'nationalistic', and was directed towards making these peoples Russians by force. But the attempt was strenuously resisted by the peoples of Finland and Poland, as well as by those of three little countries at the south-east corner of the Baltic Sea—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. All these five countries obtained their independence after the First World War, and prospered until they were involved in the Second. We shall see in a later chapter something of the world-shaking events which shattered the old Russian autocracy into a thousand pieces.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XI

Russia is and always has been a link between Europe and Asia. Great rulers like Peter I and Catherine II turned a semi-barbarous country in the direction of Europe, and the Napoleonic wars brought this country into very close touch with the rest of that continent. This chapter tells the story of a century of autocratic rule by the Czars, successors of these great rulers: how they coveted the possessions of the Turkish Sultan, especially Constantinople, and how the other European countries thwarted this ambition, allowing the Slavonic nations of the Balkan peninsula to become free from Turkish rule without becoming dependent on the great Slavonic power of Russia; how the more intelligent Russians resented autocracy, and the bad government which accompanied it, and how their efforts against it failed; later chapters will show how this autocratic rule was brought to an end in irretrievable disaster.

Two books on the general history of Russia, written by Englishmen, will be found useful for further reference—Pares' 'History of Russia', and Beazley, Forbes, and Birkett's, 'Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks'. A large history of Russia by a Russian, Kliuchevsky, is not yet wholly translated into English. There is also a short book on 'The Expansion of Russia', written by Skrine.

Some Important Dates.

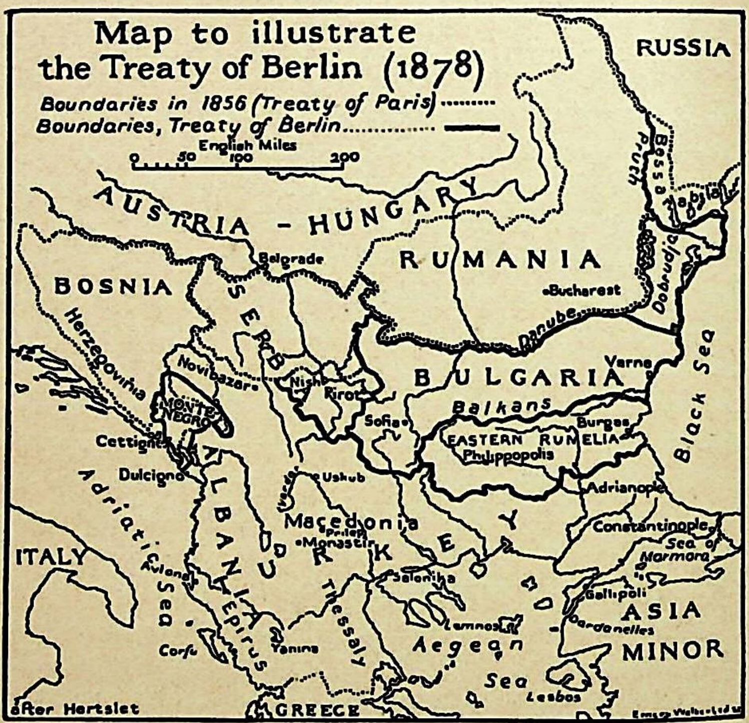
1772–1795. Three partitions of Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia.
1788–1792. Successful war with Turkey.
1815. Extension of Russian power by Vienna settlement.
1854–5. Crimean War with France and Britain: Russia's south-westward expansion checked.
1856. Emancipation of serfs.
1877. War with Turkey.
1878. Congress of Berlin: Russian south-westward expansion again checked.
1881. Assassination of Czar Alexander II.
1904–5. Russian defeat in war with Japan.
1906. Establishment of '*Duma*'.

CHAPTER XII

THE STORM CENTRE OF EUROPE

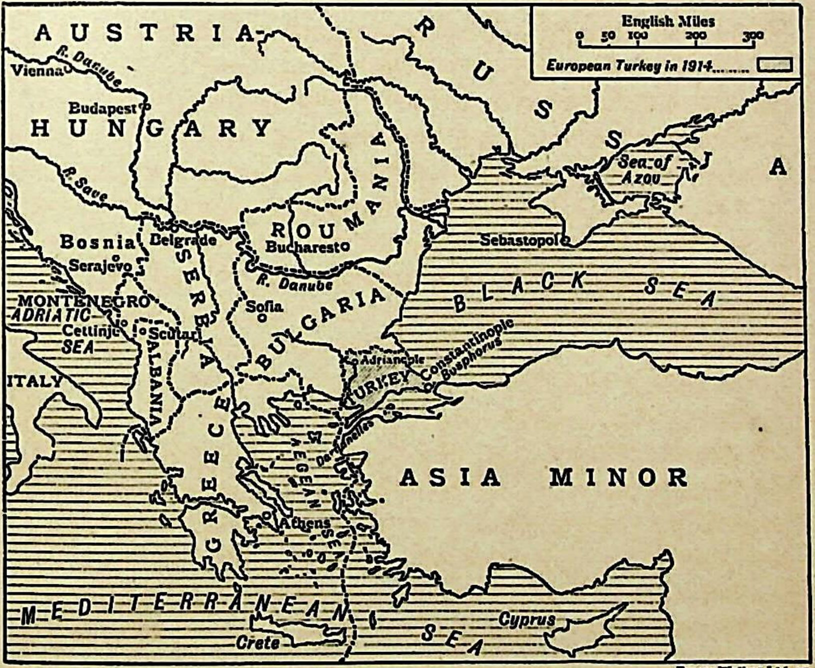
The Balkan races. Ever since the fifteenth century, when the Turks by capturing Constantinople established themselves firmly in Europe, the peoples of the Balkan peninsula remained subject to the Turkish sultans, until the last hundred years. Most of them remained Christian, except for some in Bosnia and Albania, who became and still are Muslims. In the south of the peninsula were the Greeks, who spoke a language akin to that of ancient Greece, though their blood was considerably mixed with that of Slavonic invaders. In the north-east were the Roumanians, inhabiting Moldavia and Wallachia, who spoke a Latin language akin to French and Italian. There were also the Bulgarians, partly of Mongolian origin, in the east, and the Serbians, a purely Slavonic race, in the west. Of much the same race as the Serbians were the Montenegrins, who held a small mountainous tract which the Turks never reduced to subjection, the Bosniaks, in the north-west corner, and north of these the Croats, who became subject to the rulers of Austria. These rulers, as kings of Hungary, also possessed Transylvania, in the south-east angle of the Carpathian mountains, where the majority of the peasant population was Roumanian, though the landowning nobles were Hungarian. Such was the distribution of races at the opening of the nineteenth century.

The rule of the Turks was corrupt and inefficient, but not very tyrannical. Only at times the sultans would reassert their authority, which often resulted in savage massacres. It is worthy of recollection that these rulers held sway at this time over the whole of Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia, which they kept during


Map to illustrate the Treaty of Berlin (1878)
Boundaries in 1856 (Treaty of Paris)
Boundaries, Treaty of Berlin
English Miles
0
50
100
200
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA - HUNGARY
RUMANIA
Bucharest
Danube
Pruth
Bessarabia
Dobrudja
Belgrade
SERBIA
BOSNIA
Herzegovinia
Novibazar
Nish
Pirot
MONTENEGRO
Cettigne
Dulcigno
BULGARIA
Varna
Balkans
Sofia
Burgas
EASTERN RUMELIA
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Black Sea
Ushub
Vardar
Macedonia
Prilep
Monastir
TURKEY
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
ASIA MINOR
Salonika
Lemnos
Aegean Sea
Lesbos
ALBANIA
Avlona
Epirus
Yanina
Thessaly
Corfu
Adriatic Sea
ITALY
GREECE
after Hertslet
Emery Walker Ltd

the nineteenth century, as well as over the lands bordering on the eastern and northern shores of the Black Sea, most of which lands they had to give up to Russia before the century was very old, and over the north coast of Africa, which they lost bit by bit during that century and the first twenty years of the next.

The awakening of the Balkan peoples. Before the eighteenth century had come to an end, both Russians and Austrians had realised that the power of the Turkish sultans was growing weaker. This increasing weakness was also realised by some of the subject peoples, and by the Turkish rulers of districts, known as Pashas. In 1804 the Serbians rose: after much fighting they were allowed to have their own princes, who, however, still acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sultan. About the same time a pasha, named Ali of Janina, who had started life as a robber chief, nearly succeeded in setting up an independent power. This display of the Turkish government's weakness inspired the Greeks to rebel, which they did with some success, until the Sultan called in the practically


English Miles
0 50 100 200 300
European Turkey in 1914........
AUSTRIA
R. Danube
Vienna
Budapest
HUNGARY
R. Save
RUSSIA
ROUMANIA
Bucharest
Sea of Azov
Sebastopol
BLACK SEA
Bosnia
Serajevo
Belgrade
SERBIA
R. Danube
Sofia
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
ADRIATIC SEA
Cettinje
Scutari
ALBANIA
ITALY
Adrianople
TURKEY
Constantinople
Bosphorus
Dardanelles
AEGEAN SEA
GREECE
Athens
ASIA MINOR
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Crete
Cyprus
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

The Balkans in 1914

independent Pasha of Egypt to his aid. The latter crushed the Greek rising with great cruelty. But in the rest of Europe considerable sympathy for 'the land of the classics' was aroused. Many volunteers flocked to the aid of the Greeks, including the famous English poet Byron, who died among them. Eventually in 1827 Russia, France and Britain all interfered, and their fleets destroyed the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Navarino. Britain withdrew, but the Russians invaded Turkey, and forced the Sultan to grant independence and the right to have their own king to the Greeks in the extreme south part of the peninsula. In 1881 the second treaty of Berlin gave this kingdom some more land, called Thessaly. In 1897 the Greeks made war for the independence of the island of Crete which had broken out in rebellion; but they were heavily defeated. Finally, in 1912 the Cretans managed to obtain their freedom, and united themselves with Greece. It was from Crete that the great Greek statesman Venizelos came.

During the 'thirties Russian influence was very strong in Turkey, and it seemed to the Russians that it might be a better policy for them to maintain this influence than to encourage the setting up of strong Balkan states. But they could not forget their old ambition to possess Constantinople. In the 'forties the Czar spoke of Turkey as 'the sick man of Europe', and suggested to a British statesman that the Turkish possessions might be divided up between Britain and Russia. But the British would not consent, and in fact adopted such an attitude of hostility to this plan as to lead them eventually into the Crimean War. As we saw in the last chapter, it was this war which destroyed Russian influence in Turkey, and enabled independent Slavonic states to be set up in the Balkans instead of states dependent on Russia.

The peace which settled the Russo-Turkish war of 1829 had given practical independence to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, situated at the mouth of the river Danube. After the Crimean War part of the province of Bessarabia, north of the Danube, was added to Moldavia; it was handed over to Russia in 1878, recovered from her after the war of 1914–1918, and ceded to her again in 1940. In the 'sixties Moldavia and Wallachia united under the name of Roumania, and chose a German prince as their king. They joined Russia in the war against Turkey in 1877, but the loss of Bessarabia to their ally was very distasteful to them, even though they were given compensation farther south. The Berlin Congress, too, gave Roumania complete independence of Turkey. The possession of Bessarabia by Russia and of Transylvania by Austria was a constant cause of bitterness felt by the Roumanians towards their powerful neighbours: they had a quarrel also with their southern neighbours, the Bulgarians.

Bulgaria had in the Middle Ages been a very powerful kingdom till its overthrow by the Turks. Its people were probably of Mongolian origin, but for many centuries they have considered themselves Slavs. National feeling came to them rather later than to the other Balkan races, and they had always been better treated by the Turks. However, with Russian encouragement they rose against them in 1876, but the Turks put this rising down with horrible ferocity. This aroused much indignation in Europe, particularly in the breast of the British statesman Gladstone. The peoples of Serbia and Montenegro also rose against the Turks, and in the next year the Russians intervened and invaded the Balkans. For some time their armies were held up by the heroic defence of Plevna, under Osman Pasha, but eventually they over-came this resistance and advanced almost to Constantinople. They dictated terms of peace, creating a large independent state of Bulgaria under a German prince. But at this stage the other countries of Europe interfered, called a congress which met at Berlin in 1878, and as a consequence the new Bulgarian state was very much decreased in size. At this congress a curious arrangement was made about Bosnia-Herzegovina. This country was to remain under Turkish 'suzerainty', but the government was to be administered by Austria-Hungary. The British statesman, Lord Beaconsfield, better known as Disraeli, believed in the promises of reform made by Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey, and promised to support him against Russia, receiving in return the administration by the British of the island of Cyprus. This he believed would strengthen British control over the route to India by way of the Suez Canal.

The Balkan League and the Balkan Wars. The new independent states were by no means peaceful or contented. Each one of them felt that it ought to have more territory; there were still people of its nationality under the rule of foreigners, even under that of another newly freed state. There were still, for instance, Bulgarians living under Roumanian rule; and in Macedonia, still under Turkish rule, were both Bulgarians and Greeks. The Sultan Abdul Hamid was a most subtle and wily diplomat, and proceeded to encourage the various Balkan states to be jealous of each other: there was even a war at one time between Bulgaria and Serbia. He did nothing towards carrying out the reforms promised at Berlin, except to give more unfulfilled pledges. The administration of Macedonia and the other parts of the peninsula still in Turkish hands remained particularly bad. In 1908 a group of Turkish officers who called themselves 'The Committee of Union and Progress' revolted and deposed Abdul Hamid. But their government, though more efficient, was just as oppressive as his. Austria took advantage of this revolution to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina, which they had been administering since 1878. This greatly angered the Serbians. Ferdinand, Prince of Bulgaria, took the opportunity of declaring himself 'Czar' of Bulgaria, and his country entirely independent of Turkey.

The three states of Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia, at the suggestion of the able Greek statesman, Venizelos, now agreed to forget their jealousies and to make a league of military alliance: they were joined by the tiny state of Montenegro, which in 1912 declared war on Turkey, despite warnings from the great European powers. The other three states joined in, and to everyone's surprise the allied states beat the Turks most decisively, and turned them out of the whole Balkan peninsula except Constantinople. Unfortunately, however, the victorious allies could not agree. Greece and Serbia quarrelled with Bulgaria, and war broke out between them: Roumania joined the former, and the Turks took advantage of the confusion to regain a little of their territory. Finally a settlement was made, much to the disadvantage of the Bulgarians, who were defeated: they therefore continued to harbour a deep grudge against their former allies.

The story of these Balkan wars has not so far taken into account the countries of Europe outside the Balkans who were so deeply interested in them. But the fact is that all Europe was nearly plunged into war on their account: Russia supported Serbia, and Austria, with the backing of Germany, supported Turkey. The struggle did not actually break out, but it was not to be long delayed. The Balkan countries made peace with each other in 1913; but the jealousy between Austria and Serbia was to flame out in tragic events the very next year, and to have the main share in starting the great catastrophe of the First World War.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XII

The confusion of races and racial boundaries in south-eastern Europe was bound to cause trouble as soon as ideas of Nationalism penetrated those parts, as the rule was borne over them by Austria and Turkey, two non-national autocratic states. This chapter deals mainly with these troubles, and shows the emergence of small states in the Balkan Peninsula animated by a national spirit of the most violent and aggressive type. One of the most interesting things to watch during the nineteenth century is the extent of Russian influence and interference in these parts. The troubles culminated in the alliance of the Balkan states against Turkey, and the successful Balkan war, followed by the quarrels of the victors among themselves, leading to a second war. Events in this part of Europe are very important, because they were the direct occasion of the outbreak of general warfare in Europe in 1914.

Perhaps the most useful general book on this subject is Miller, 'The Ottoman Empire and its Successors'. There is also one by Seton-Watson, 'Rise of Nationality in the Balkans', and by Marriott, 'The Eastern Question'. Temperley's 'History of Serbia', Miller's 'History of the Greek People', Iorga's 'History of Roumania', and Eversley's 'The Turkish Empire', may be consulted. There are several general works on European history during the years before the War of 1914, in which much attention is paid to this subject: among them are Holland Rose, 'Development of the European Nations, 1870–1914', Hazen; 'Fifty Years of Europe, 1870–1919', and Marriott, 'Europe and Beyond, 1870–1920'.

Some Important Dates.

1804. Serbian rising against Turkey: Serbia got semi-independent prince.
1821–9. War of Greek Independence.
1827. Battle of Navarino.
1829. Moldavia and Wallachia semi-independent, by Treaty of Adrianople between Turkey and Russia.
1861. Union of Moldavia and Wallachia under name of Roumania.
1876. Bulgarian rebellion against Turkey.
1877–8. Russo-Turkish War.
1878. Congress of Berlin. Independence of Bulgaria, Serbia and Roumania.
1908. 'Young Turk' revolution. Bosnia-Herzegovina annexed by Austria-Hungary.
1912. First Balkan War.
1913. Second Balkan War.

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. THE SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH: CANADA

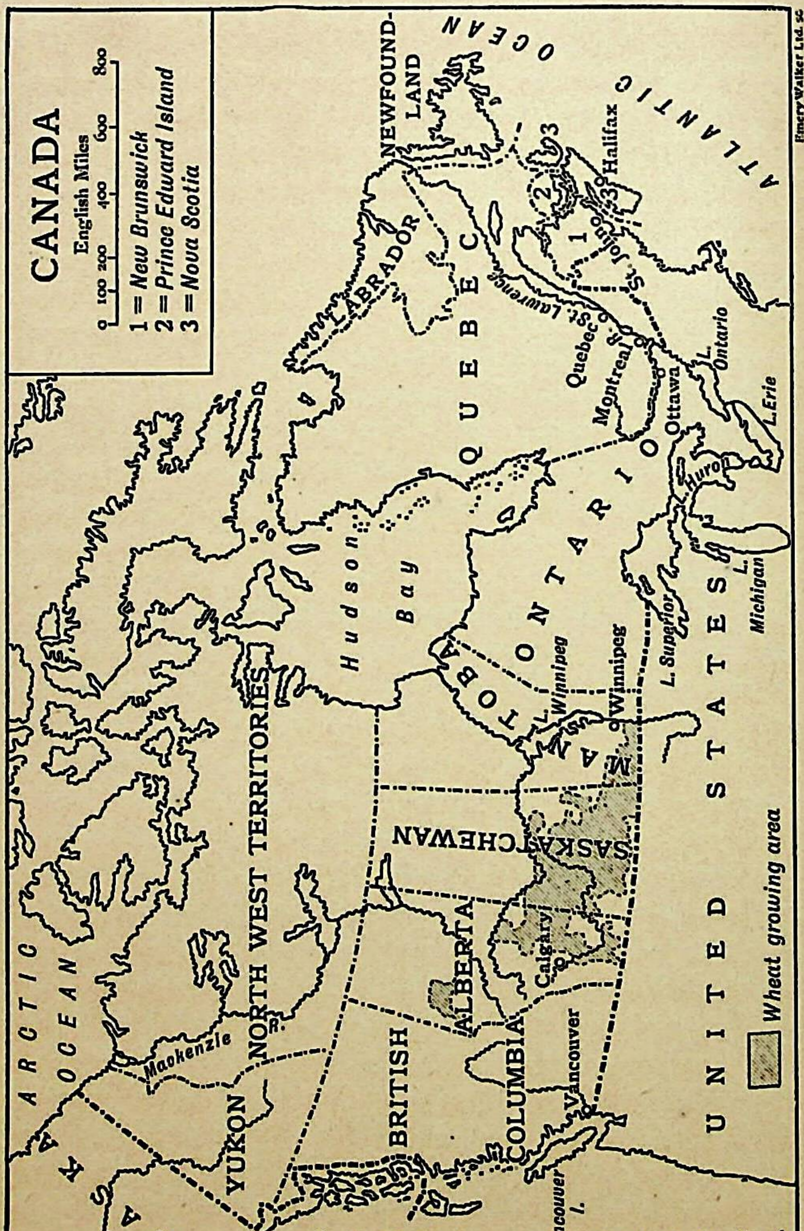
The British Commonwealth of Nations. It is a well-known fact that at the present day about one-fifth of the world's land area and about one-fourth of its population belong to 'The British Commonwealth of Nations', nowadays usually called just 'The Commonwealth'; till recently it was officially styled 'The British Empire'. It is less well known that most of this only passed under the British flag during the nineteenth century. At present it consists: (1) of those countries which govern themselves as equal partners in the Commonwealth—the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and, in 1957, Ghana, formerly known as 'the Gold Coast', and the Federation of Malaya; (2) of many other countries, large and small, all over the world, some of which, like the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Nigeria, have a very considerable amount of self-government. In addition to these are certain 'protectorates' and 'trust territories', most of which are regarded as not yet fitted for self-government. The name 'Commonwealth of Nations' shows what are the aims of the leaders of this great association; they intend that all members of the Commonwealth shall have the opportunity of governing themselves as soon as they are fit for it. In some cases this is already achieved, in some it may soon come to pass, in some it may take a very long time.

It is the purpose of this and the next chapter to deal with the history, up to the end of the First World War, of four out of the nine member countries of the Commonwealth who, up to the end of 1957, had become self-governing to the fullest extent, after having previously been under the control of Britain. These four, though they now have complete power over their own affairs, still see fit to acknowledge as the sovereign of their country the gracious lady who is Queen of the United Kingdom, and to regard her as the true outward sign of their unity. The history of others, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, and Malaya, will be dealt with in later chapters. But they all regard themselves as equal partners with each other, sharing common ideals of parliamentary and democratic ordered peace. Their history after the end of the First World War will be found in Chapter XXVIII. This condition of equal partnership is of very recent date, and we must examine for ourselves the slow process by which it has gradually grown up.

The British Empire. In the days of Queen Elizabeth I, England was a small country containing about four million inhabitants. It had no outside possessions at all, except the neighbouring island of Ireland. The real beginning of the Commonwealth is marked by the joining together in 1603 on equal terms of England and Scotland, at first under the same Crown, and a century later under the same Parliament. The seafaring skill and naval success of the English led to the establishment of colonies on the east coast of North America, and of trading stations in the East and West Indies and elsewhere. From the first these colonies had much self-government; but towards the end of the eighteenth century thirteen colonies in North America broke away from the mother country, owing to a rather stupid quarrel with the rather stupid king George III and his ministers, and united to form an entirely independent country called The United States of America. This event is sometimes called the loss of the First British Empire. But the enterprise of the British, and their overwhelming naval power, which had already driven their great rivals the French from North America and from India, now did something to replace this loss. A second British Empire of a mother-country and self-governing dominions grew up, though it was no longer on the purely British basis of the first: Canada at the outset was largely French in population, and South Africa largely Dutch. Only Australia and New Zealand were purely British from the beginning.

The achievement of self-government in Canada. During the Seven Years' War the British, by means of their strong navy, and with the assistance of their numerous colonists in North America, drove the French power from Canada, and retained this French colony from 1763 onwards. About 60,000 French people remained there, mostly around the fortified trading stations of Montreal and Quebec. When the thirteen colonies broke away, these French-Canadians had no wish to join them; the British colonies of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island also remained within the Empire. About 60,000 colonists from the south who had remained loyal to the Empire during the American War of Independence, and had been badly treated in consequence in the United States, left their homes and settled down mainly in the province now known as Ontario, under the name of 'The United Empire Loyalists'. When, in 1812, an unfortunate war broke out between Britain and the United States, these colonists, French and British, with the aid of some British troops, successfully beat back an attempted invasion by the forces of the United States.

In 1791 Pitt, the British Prime Minister, had the Canada Act passed, which divided Canada into Upper Canada (now Ontario), an English-speaking province, and Lower Canada, a French-speaking province. Both provinces were given 'representative government', that is, an elected assembly, but not 'responsible government', that is, control by this assembly over the administrative officers. This system, which also existed in the other provinces, lasted for over forty years. But it did not work very well after a time, on account of constant quarrels between the elected assemblies and the executive councils. Finally in 1837 there were outbreaks of armed rebellion in both Upper and Lower Canada. The British government sent out Lord Durham as High Commissioner, accompanied by two very able young men, Charles Buller and Gibbon Wakefield, all three of whom had greatly interested themselves in colonial affairs. The rebellions were easily put down, and the leaders were transported—a high-handed act which led to the recall of Lord Durham. But he and his assistants proceeded to draw up a report which is the most important document in the history of the British Empire. It laid down that 'the Crown must consent to carry on the government by means of those in whom the representative members have confidence'; in other words, it recommended the grant of responsible government, which was to become the keystone of British policy within the Empire. It also recommended the union of Upper and Lower Canada, with the hope of absorbing the French into the British population. This attempt at absorption was unsuccessful, and the principle underlying it has been given up. This is fortunate, as

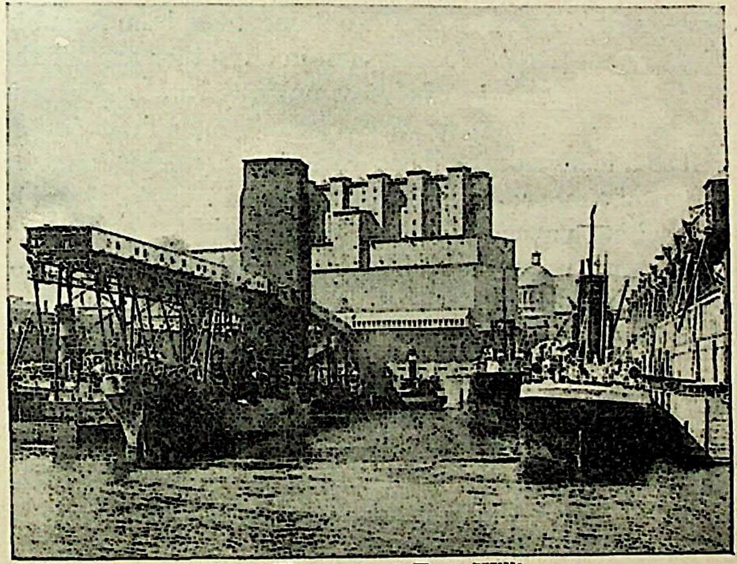

CANADA
English Miles
0 100 200 400 600 800
1 = New Brunswick
2 = Prince Edward Island
3 = Nova Scotia
ARCTIC OCEAN
ALASKA
YUKON
NORTH WEST TERRITORIES
Mackenzie R.
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
Hudson Bay
L. Winnipeg
Winnipeg
Calgary
Vancouver
Vancouver I.
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
Ottawa
Montreal
Quebec
St. Lawrence
St. John
Halifax
1
2
3
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
UNITED STATES
Wheat growing area
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

it is now possible for *all* races to share in the Commonwealth of Nations. In 1840 the two provinces were united by Act of Parliament, and in about seven years from this date all the North American provinces had been given responsible government.

The Dominion of Canada. During the next twenty years the idea grew up in Canada that all the provinces ought to join in some kind of union, but that Ontario and Quebec should be two provinces, and not one. Several able men were working towards this end, especially Macdonald and Brown, the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties in Ontario, and Cartier, a French-Canadian of Quebec. They feared that the United States would take over the great stretches of unoccupied territory west of Ontario: they also wanted to use Halifax and St. John, the ports of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which, unlike Montreal and Quebec, were free from ice during the winter months. Other reasons, too, pointed towards union. It was determined that this union should be of a *federal* kind, something like the United States, but with more power in the hands of the central government. A detailed scheme was drawn up, which was embodied by the British Parliament in 1867 under the name of the British North America Act. The Dominion of Canada was first formed of four provinces, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. British Columbia on the Pacific coast joined in 1871, and Prince Edward Island two years later. Since then three new provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, have been created from the prairie lands to the west of Ontario, and have joined the federation. Newfoundland remained outside it for many years, but joined it in 1949. Each province kept its own assembly and administration, with the control of certain powers of government, and sent a fixed number of members to the Upper House of the Dominion Parliament. Everything else was under the control of the central government, and the members of the Lower House, or 'House of Commons', were elected on the basis of population. The ministers were responsible to the Parliament, and are chosen, like those of Britain, from the leaders of the party which holds the majority in the House of Commons. The British government kept in its hands the appointment of the Governor-General, the right (later abolished) of hearing appeals from the Dominion courts by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the right of altering the Dominion constitution (a right not likely to be exercised except at the request of the Dominion Government), and the rights of controlling foreign policy and of making war and peace, which rights have either disappeared, or can no longer be said to exist to any practical extent.

The constitution of Canada has become the model for the other self-governing portions of the Commonwealth of Nations, though New Zealand, which began as a federation, later became 'unitary', like Great Britain.

The expansion of Canada. As early as 1670 a company was formed to carry on the fur trade around the shores of Hudson's Bay, the great inland sea in the very north of the American continent. At the end of the next century a rival company was founded: but the two companies amalgamated in 1821, and to them is due much of the opening up of the vast northern territories. In 1846 the boundary line between Canada and the United States of America was fixed by treaty as the 49th parallel of latitude and the Great Lakes, with certain adjustments in the extreme west and east. By 1867 the population of the Dominion had reached about one and a half millions, since which time it has greatly increased, by natural growth and by immigration, till nowadays it is over fifteen millions. There is still ample room for growth, and Canada is bound to go on increasing in wealth and greatness. Much of this growth is due to the building of great railways, particularly the Canadian Pacific Railway, which crosses the continent from east to west. The completion of the 'C.P.R.' was largely due to the enterprise of Lord Strathcona, one of the famous names in Canadian history. At its western end is British Columbia. This province has a wonderful climate, and is the centre of a great fruit-growing industry.



Wheat Elevators at Fort William

East of the Rocky mountains are the huge wheatfields, from which is exported much of the grain which provides bread for the crowded millions of Great Britain. In Canada is also found immense mineral wealth, including a very rich goldfield near the border of Alaska and newly discovered oilfields in Alberta; and in recent years uranium ore, the source from which, by an elaborate process, atomic power can be obtained, has been found in larger quantities in Canada than in any other part of the world. The existence of almost unlimited water-power is rapidly making Canada an important manufacturing as well as a food-producing country. Another great industry is that of timber; much wood is exported, also wood pulp for making paper and artificial silk.

In many ways the Canadians resemble the people of the United States, whose conditions of development have been so very similar. The expansion of Canada towards the west was very much like the earlier expansion of the United States in the same direction. Fortunately it was more orderly, largely owing to the work of that magnificent body of men known as the North-West Mounted Police, whose history reads very like a romance. It has sometimes been thought that Canada in the end would join the United States. But there has always existed in Canada a strong feeling of independence, combined with loyalty to the British Crown: measures taken to make closer the connection with their great southern neighbours led to the fall of their Liberal government in 1911. After this the Conservatives were in power for some time.

When the First World War broke out, it was very clear how the Canadians felt about it. Thousands rushed to join the army, and by the end of 1915 over 10,000 Canadians were fighting in France. By the end of the war no fewer than 62,000 had laid down their lives. In 1917 the Canadian government introduced conscription to keep up reserves and to supply fresh troops. The Canadian soldiers were magnificent fighting men, and played a noble part in helping to win the war.

Canadian representatives were sent to the Peace Conference at Versailles, and Canada, along with other parts of the British Commonwealth, joined the League of Nations.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XIII

The official title of what was once known as the British Empire is 'The Commonwealth of Nations': this name represents the ideal of those who direct its destinies—that of an equal partnership of self-governing countries. It is the object of this chapter and the next to trace the growth of full self-government in those countries which up to the end of the First World War had received it. This chapter gives a general idea of the various types of government included in the 'Commonwealth', and traces the beginning of the Commonwealth idea. It then deals with the history of Canada, the first of the self-governing dominions, and shows how the idea of self-government was definitely stated by the 'Durham Report', going on to show how that country was the first to achieve 'dominion status'. The 'federal' principle on which the Dominion of Canada is based is worthy of close attention. It is also interesting to notice the resemblance between the development of Canada and of the United States of America (*see* Chapter XVIII).

A good general account of the development of the British Empire is to be found in Williamson, 'Short History of British Expansion'. A valuable short book is that by Newton and Ewing, 'The British Empire since 1783': another general sketch is by Lucas, 'The British Empire'. Larger books are

Lucas, 'Historical Geography of the British Empire', Keith, 'Responsible Government in the British Dominions', and Egerton, 'Short History of British Colonial Policy', and 'British Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century'. For the further study of Canada, there is a short book by Bradley, 'Canada' (Home University Library); Grant, 'History of Canada': and much information is to be derived from the Oxford Survey of the British Empire, edited by Herbertson and Howarth, Volume 4.

Some Important Dates.

1763.	Canada yielded to Britain by the French.
1783.	Loss of the First British Empire.
1791.	Pitt's Canada Act.
1839.	The Durham Report.
1840.	Act of Union of the Two Canadas.
1867.	British North America Act.
1885.	Completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

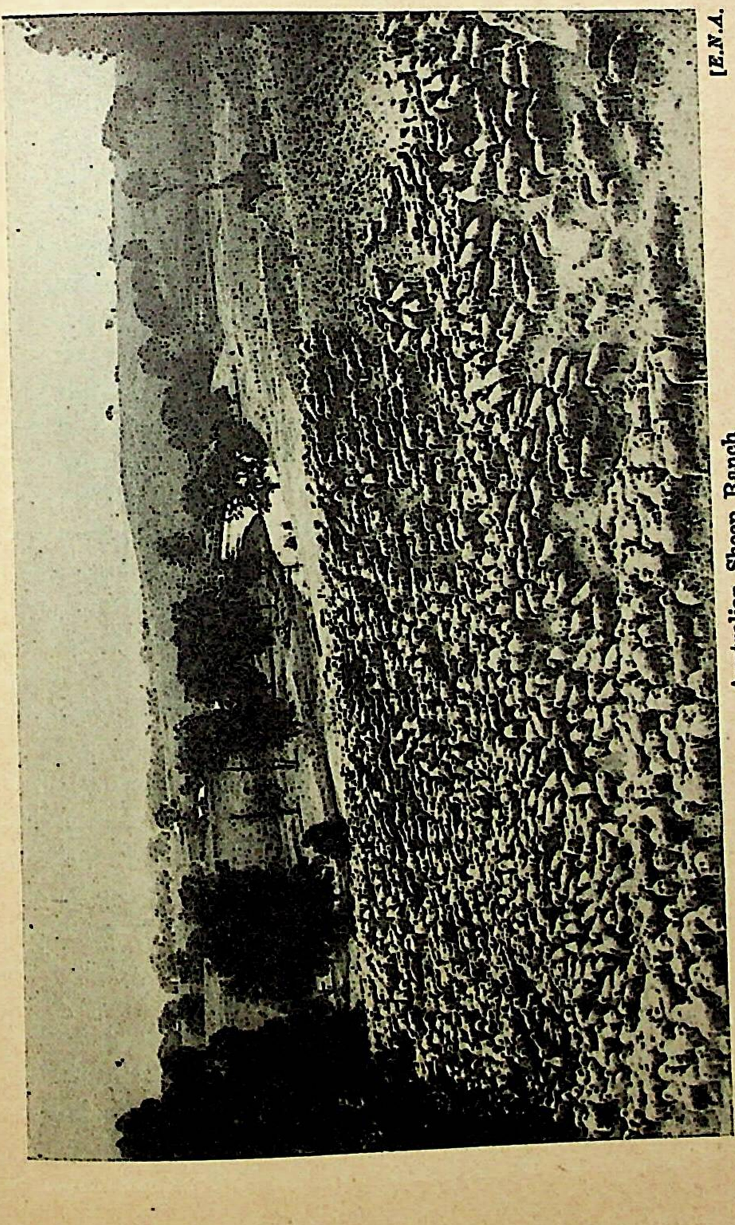
CHAPTER XIV

THE SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH: AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND SOUTH AFRICA

Australia. Although the existence of the great island continent of Australia was known to the Dutch in the seventeenth century, its coast was not properly explored until the voyages of the British naval officer Captain James Cook, between 1770 and 1779. The inhabitants of Australia, at that time usually known as 'aborigines', were very few in number, and lived in a very primitive way, many of them in the dry lands of the interior. The country was so vast that its colonisation did not greatly interfere with them. At first no use was made of Captain Cook's discovery: but in 1787 the British government decided to transport some convicts to the newly-explored country. Transportation was one of the punishments of convicted criminals. After the loss of the American colonies it was no longer possible to send them there, so Australia was suggested. In 1788 convict ships brought over a thousand persons to Botany Bay, on the east coast: they were soon moved to what is now the great city of Sydney. The settlement survived its many difficulties, and at the beginning of the next century free settlers began to arrive. The convicts did not do well, and they have left very few descendants; the Australians of to-day are almost entirely descended from the free settlers.

It was soon found that the interior of the country gave splendid opportunities for the rearing of sheep, and by 1821 the settlers in New South Wales, as the new colony was called, possessed 250,000 sheep and cattle. By this time the island to the south of Australia, now known as Tasmania, had about 10,000 settlers. The constant arrival of free immigrants led to much exploration and development in the interior of Australia, and in 1840 transportation was stopped at the urgent request of the settlers. In 1828 another colony was founded in Western Australia; this did not do very well at first, and the colonists there applied for transported convicts as labourers; but after 1848 no more were sent. In 1836 a new colony was founded in South Australia, and in 1850 Victoria, and in 1859 Queensland, were made colonies separate from New South Wales. Thus were formed the six states of which Australia still consists. They were separated from each other by large unsettled areas (in the case of Tasmania by the ocean), and each state developed in its own way. South Australia had always been free from convict settlements and owed its success largely to the able governorship of Sir George Grey, who did splendid work as governor there between 1841 and 1845.

The history of Australia has been much more peaceful than that of any other self-governing dominion. A certain amount of trouble was caused by picturesque bandits known as 'bushrangers', but they were suppressed. Up to 1850 the growth of the new colonies was slow. But at this time took place great discoveries of gold, silver, and copper, and later on some rich coalfields were found. A big rush of immigration took place, so that in five years the population of Victoria increased from 70,000 to 333,000. Important as are the mining industries,



Australian Sheep Ranch

[E.N.A.

sheep-rearing to supply the wool markets of the world is still the principal industry of Australia.

In 1856 New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania were granted responsible government; during the next fifteen years this was extended to the other two colonies. But these various states were so far separated, and were so jealous of each other, that for a number of years they showed no particular desire to unite. However, in the 'eighties other European powers appeared in the Southern Pacific Ocean, and the states began to draw together, fearing that their common interests might be threatened. Finally the question of union was referred to a general vote of all the people, and as a result a federal constitution was drawn up, which was embodied in an Act of the British Parliament in 1900. The 'Commonwealth of Australia' is a federation on the Canadian model, except that, like the United States of America, certain definite powers were given to the central government, and the remainder left to the states which compose the federation. An entirely new city has been built as the capital city of Australia; its name is Canberra.

The new Commonwealth has certainly been a great success, and the six states have usually co-operated loyally. The working classes of Australia are strong and well organised, and many laws have been passed to benefit them: unfortunately there have been many costly labour disputes and 'strikes'. The Australian workers are very nervous about admitting immigrants in large numbers, lest they have to submit to their wages being lowered: hence their dislike of the admission of Asian labourers, who are usually willing to take less than the customary rate of wages.

The loyalty of Australians to the Crown was clearly shown during the First World War, when they came over as soldiers in large numbers, and showed themselves to be remarkable attacking troops. Conscription was not brought in, as in Canada, but there were plenty of volunteers. Like Canada, Australia was represented at the Peace Conference, and became a member of the League of Nations. Former German territory in New Guinea was given to Australia to administer under a 'mandate' from the League of Nations. Australia still holds this as a United Nations 'trust territory'.

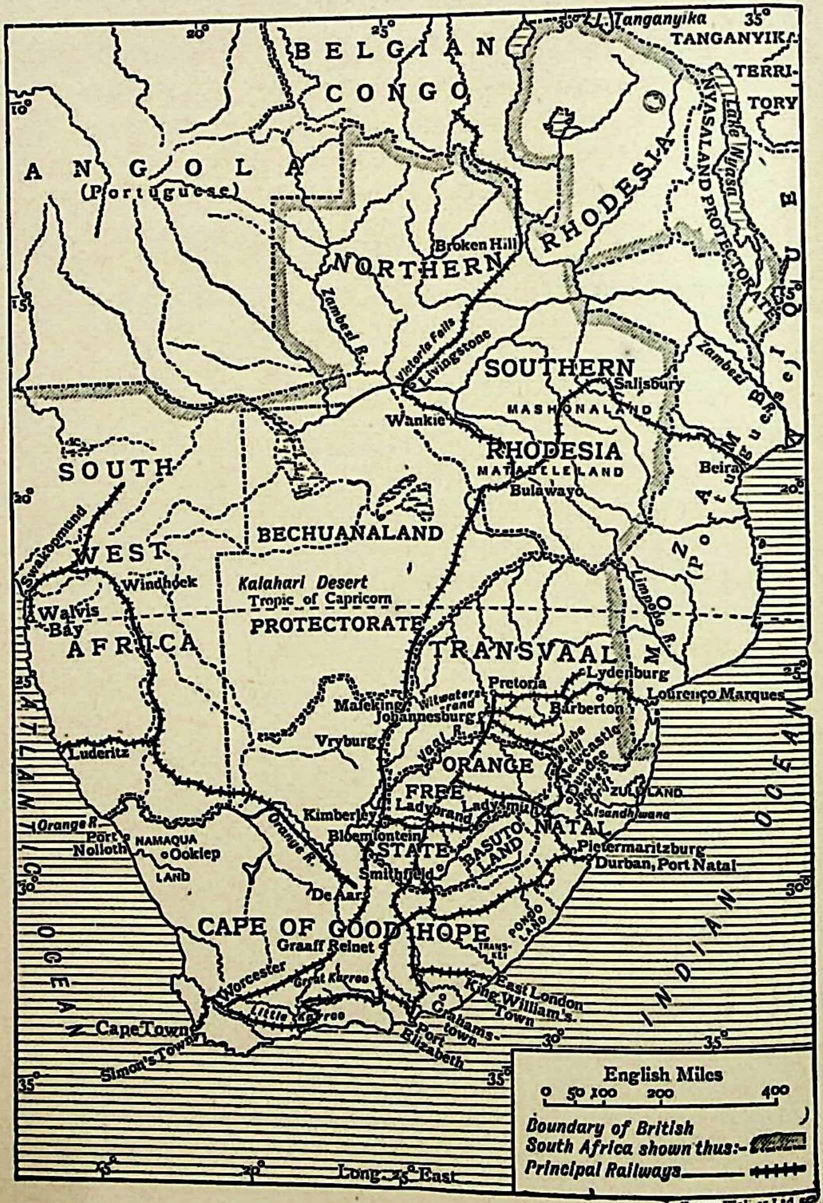
New Zealand. In 1769 Captain Cook visited New Zealand, whose shores had previously been visited by Dutch seamen, and declared it annexed by Britain: but for about sixty years there was no real attempt to colonise it. European traders and missionaries who went there found a highly intelligent native race, in rather small numbers, known as Maoris. By 1839 a 'New Zealand Company' was founded in Britain for the purpose of establishing a properly organised colony. Gibbon Wakefield, who was partly responsible for the Durham Report about Canada, and who had greatly interested himself in the colonisation of South Australia, played a considerable part in founding this company. He wrote a book called 'The Art of Colonisation', in which he set down the lines on which he thought a newly-founded colony should be organised, and this book commanded great attention among thinking people interested in the British Empire.

At first there was trouble with the Maoris over the land question, and two wars took place before this was satisfactorily settled. The first war was settled by Sir George Grey, who as governor met with a success equal to that which he had had in South Australia. The second dragged on until 1870, after which a peace was made which gave the Maoris a special position in the country, with political rights on much the same terms as the British settlers, an arrangement which has worked excellently ever since. In 1856 responsible government was granted, first on federal and afterwards on unitary lines. The government of New Zealand has always been very active and successful in making laws for the good of the people, who have been generally contented and prosperous. The main industry of the country is the rearing of sheep, but it has other great agricultural possibilities, especially in dairying.

The climate of New Zealand is not unlike that of the British Isles, and the Dominion (as it became in 1907) is more like the home country than any of the others. To-day the population exceeds two million. Like Australia and Canada, New Zealand did not hesitate to send her young men to aid Britain in the First World War, where they earned a splendid reputation for disciplined bravery. At the Peace Conference the German possession of Samoa was handed over to the New Zealand government for administration as a 'mandated territory', and this land is still held as a 'trust territory'.

South Africa. Unlike that of Australia and New Zealand, the history of South Africa has been far from peaceful. In the seventeenth century the Dutch established a small colony at the Cape of Good Hope in order to supply fresh food for the crews of ships going to their eastern possessions. Some French Protestants, driven from their country by King Louis XIV, also settled there; but by the end of the eighteenth century there were only about 15,000 Europeans in the colony. The Dutch East India Company had no wish to develop it from its original purpose. The original inhabitants, of whom there were two races, 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots' as they were called, lived very primitively: there are few of them left to-day. During the Napoleonic wars it passed under British rule, and when peace was concluded in 1815, it was kept by Britain, on payment of a large sum of money, as a useful naval station.

There were at this time two invading races in South Africa, the Europeans from the south, and the Bantus from the north: of the latter the best known are the Kaffirs and the fighting tribes of Zulus. These two sets of invaders came into touch about four hundred miles east of Cape Town. Considerable numbers of British came and settled in Cape Colony, including a number of missionaries. The latter were very enthusiastic for the abolition of slavery: but this project was greatly disliked by the Dutch farmers, usually known as 'Boers'. When slavery in all British territories was abolished in 1833, these Boers were discontented, and three years later some 10,000 of them left Cape Colony for the almost unknown interior. Their expedition is known as 'The Great Trek' (that is, journey). Some of the trekkers were attacked and massacred by the Zulus, but the rest defeated them, and settled down in the lands now called Natal. The British government decided to take over Natal in order to avoid trouble with the Bantu races, with the result that some of the Boer settlers there went further into the interior, where they eventually founded two republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In 1853 Cape Colony was given representative government, and Sir George Grey came from New Zealand as Governor to give it a good start. He formed a plan of federation to include the Boer republics; but unfortunately this broke down, mainly owing to the opposition of the British government in England.


L. Tanganyika
TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
BELGIAN CONGO
ANGOLA (Portuguese)
NORTHERN RHODESIA
NYASALAND PROTECTORATE
Lake Nyasa
Broken Hill
Zambezi R.
Victoria Falls
Livingstone
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
MASHONALAND
MATABELELAND
Salisbury
Wankie
Bulawayo
Beira
MOZAMBIQUE (Portuguese)
Zambezi R.
Limpopo R.
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
Swakopmund
Windhoek
Walvis Bay
Luderitz
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
Kalahari Desert
Tropic of Capricorn
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria
Lydenburg
Barberton
Lourenço Marques
Mafeking
Witwatersrand
Johannesburg
Vryburg
Vaal R.
ORANGE FREE STATE
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
Ladybrand
Ladysmith
Smithfield
Newcastle
Dundee
Majuba Hill
Rorke's Drift
ZULULAND
Isandhlwana
NATAL
BASUTO LAND
Pietermaritzburg
Durban, Port Natal
Orange R.
Port Nolloth
NAMAQUA LAND
Ookiep
De Aar
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
Graaff Reinet
PONDO LAND
TRANSKEI
Worcester
Great Karroo
Little Karroo
Cape Town
Simon's Town
Port Elizabeth
Grahamstown
King William's Town
East London
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
10°
15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
Long. 25° East
English Miles
0 50 100 200 400
Boundary of British South Africa shown thus:-
Principal Railways
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

South Africa

In 1869 and 1871 two Bantu tribes, the Basutos and the Griquas, dwelling to the south and east of the Boer republics, placed themselves under British protection. It was in the lands of the Griquas that rich diamond fields were later discovered. Meanwhile there was much internal trouble in the Transvaal, which, unlike its neighbour the Orange Free State, was badly administered; the former also got into serious trouble with the Zulus. The British government decided to interfere, and in 1877 annexed the Transvaal. This meant the checking of Zulu raids and a war broke out in 1878. Some of the British forces met with disaster at first: the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift by a handful of British troops against overwhelming numbers of Zulus is one of the most famous deeds in the history of the British Army. The war ended in the complete defeat of the Zulus; their old military raiding organisation was broken up, and Zululand was finally annexed in 1887. Once the Zulu danger was over, the Transvaal Boers wanted their independence back again, and took up arms. After some British forces had been defeated, the British statesman, Gladstone, gave them what they wanted. The Transvaal was now to be known as the South African Republic, but its foreign affairs were to be subject to British control.

A few years later began a great extension of British influence in South Africa, largely due to a remarkable man named Cecil Rhodes. He established friendly relations with the Boers who remained under British rule in Cape Colony. He founded the British South Africa Company to open up the land to the north of the Transvaal: this was done by arrangement with Lobengula, king of the warlike Matabele tribes, who, however, came to regret the arrangement and made unsuccessful war against the new settlers. The newly acquired territories were given the name of Rhodesia, the northern portion of which extends for a great distance into Central Africa.

This expansion shut in the Transvaal Boers. In their territory there was found in 1886 a very rich goldfield, to which thousands of miners flocked from all over Europe, and on which a great city known as Johannesburg rapidly grew up. All this was very distasteful to the Boers, who hated outside interference. Led by their president, Paul Kruger, they kept all political power in their own hands, and out of those of the newcomers whom they called 'Uitlanders', that is, foreigners. The latter were annoyed at this, and decided to rise in arms. Rhodes, now prime minister of Cape Colony, made the serious blunder of giving them secret support. As Cape Colony had been given responsible government in 1872, his action was unknown to the British government at home. An armed party under Dr. Jameson crossed the border into the Transvaal, and was captured. This meant the resignation of Rhodes and the breaking of his friendship with the Cape Colony Boers, now organised into a powerful society called the 'Afrikander Bond'. Both they and the Orange Free State were very angry over this raid; President Kruger seems to have then determined on war with Britain, and the creation of an independent Dutch South Africa. This war actually broke out in 1899, and the Transvaal was joined by the Orange Free State, though not by the Afrikander Bond. The Boers put up a magnificent resistance, till nearly the whole British army was needed to defeat them. It is worthy of note that both Canada and Australia sent volunteer troops. Finally in 1902 peace was made and British sovereignty acknowledged over the two republics.

The Union of South Africa. The peace terms were generous, and several of the Boer leaders, seeing that complete Dutch ascendancy was impossible in South Africa, proceeded to work in friendly co-operation with the British. Of these, two Boer generals who had fought against the British, Botha and Smuts, were the foremost. The British government met them halfway, and in 1907 full responsible government was given to the two states which had been republics. As Natal had been given the same status in 1893, there were now, with the Cape Province (formerly Cape Colony), four self-governing provinces in South Africa. These soon saw that they had most of their interests in common, and in 1909 they decided to unite into a very close federation, with nearly all of the powers in the hands of the central government. The first prime minister of the Union of South Africa was the former Boer general, Botha. When the First World War broke out in 1914 the strength of this new union was put to the test. A small number of Boers rebelled, but were put down by their fellow Boers. The forces of the Union invaded and captured German South-west Africa, fought in German East Africa under General Smuts, and sent a strong contingent to fight in France.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XIV

This chapter continues the subject begun in the previous one, and deals with three other self-governing dominions of the British Empire. The development of Australia and New Zealand, almost entirely by people of British stock, was comparatively even and peaceful—a great contrast with that of South Africa, inhabited by different races, and by two 'nationalities' of the same race—the British and the Dutch.

South Africa affords a number of interesting but difficult problems.

The books recommended for study at the end of the last chapter will be found equally useful for this one. For Australia and New Zealand there are Scott, 'Short History of Australia', Parsons, 'Story of New Zealand', José, 'History of Australasia', and Hancock, 'Australia'. For South Africa, there are histories by Walker and Fairbridge (a short book) and a large work by Theal. Williams, 'Cecil Rhodes', should also be read.

Some Important Dates.

1769–1779. Exploration of Australia and New Zealand during Cook's voyages.
1815. Final annexation of Cape Colony by Britain.
1836. 'Great Trek' of South African 'Boers'.
1856. Grant of responsible government to four Australian States and to New Zealand.
1877. British annexed Transvaal.
1881. First Boer War.
1886. Discovery of 'Rand' goldfield in the Transvaal.
1899–1902. Second Boer War.
1900. Commonwealth of Australia established.
1909. Union of South Africa effected.

CHAPTER XV

THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT (to 1919)

The sub-continent of India. The most astounding thing about the sub-continent of India is the number of different races, languages, and peoples at all stages of civilisation, from the high-caste Brahmin, well educated and often brilliantly clever, to the primitive savage of the forest, armed with bow and arrow, and living by hunting. During the course of its long history the sub-continent has occasionally been under one rule, but never for very long. From the early nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century it was under the rule of the British: in the larger part, called 'British India', under the direct administration of the British Government: in the smaller, under the Indian rulers of about 600 states, some very large and some very small, but responsible only to the Viceroy, the direct representative of the King (or Queen) of Great Britain, who also came to bear the title of Emperor (or Empress) of India.

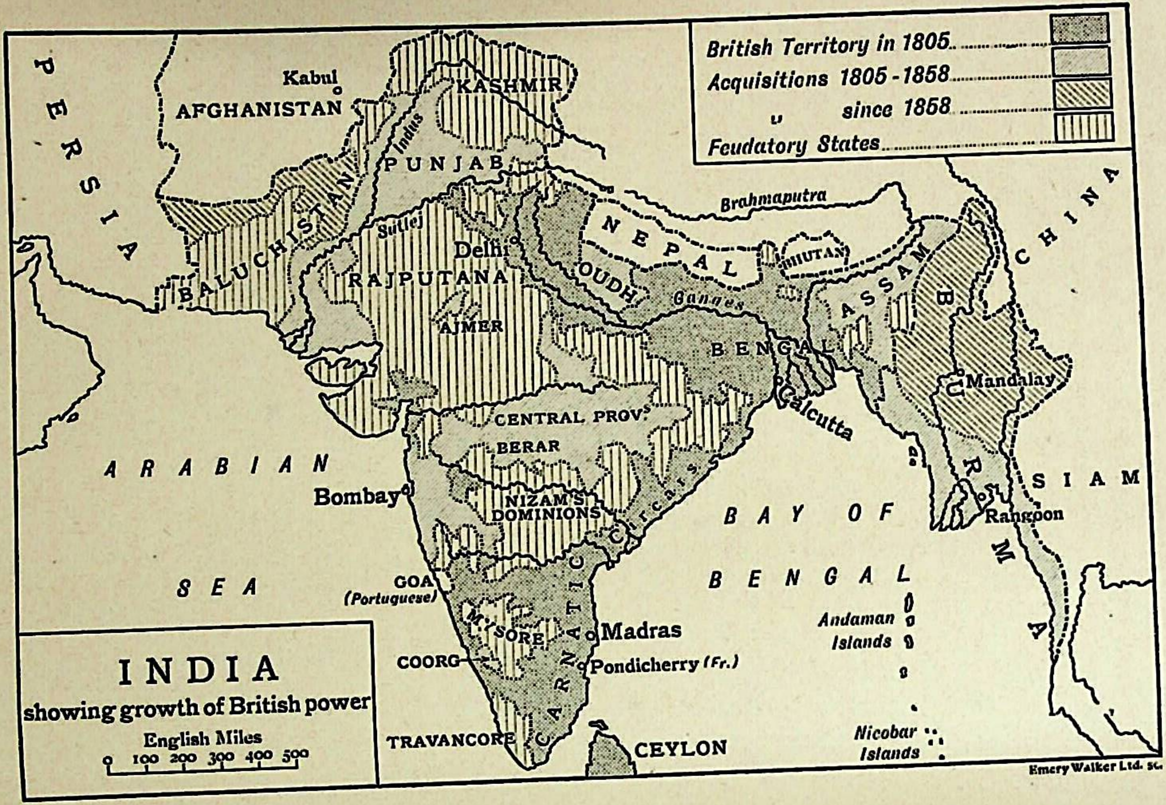
In the sub-continent there have been for centuries two principal religions: the great majority of the people in, say, 1939 professed the Hindu religion, perhaps some 240 millions. The other great religion was that of Islam, and there were about 70 million Muslims. Apart from these there were about 30 million Christians, Buddhists, Parsees, and members of other religions. The people who professed these different religions rarely intermarried and many of their ways of life and social customs differed widely.

India before the nineteenth century. Except in very early days, when great rulers like the Buddhist Emperor Asoka and the Hindu Chandragupta ruled over nearly all India, the rulers who managed to make themselves supreme were not Indians. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the long rule of the Muslim conquerors, known as the Mogul emperors, was coming to an end, and during this century the whole land had once again fallen into terrible confusion. For a time it had looked as if the Hindu Marathas might get supreme power; however, after the time of the great ruler Shivaji (died 1680), they were not united among themselves; an invasion from Afghanistan broke the power of his successors, though they remained a danger to other states of Central India, many of whom they forced to pay heavy tribute, plundering them if they refused it.

Ever since the early sixteenth century European traders, of whom the most important were the British and French, had established trading stations on the Indian coast. During the eighteenth century Britain and France were usually at war, and these wars were largely for the purpose of obtaining trade. The people of these two countries who traded with India were formed into rival trading companies, and fought each other constantly. The small trading stations ('factories', as they were called) which they possessed were usually obtained by treaty from the local rulers. The three main factories possessed by the British have developed into the three great cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. In these struggles between the rival companies each tried to get the alliance of the local rulers, especially those of the Carnatic and of Bengal, and with these rulers they often had great influence. By 1763 the

British were successful in driving out the French, owing to superior sea-power, and to the military and administrative genius of their leader Robert Clive.

Up to this date the British East India Company had concerned itself almost entirely with trade, and had only interfered with local rulers to protect its factories, and to oppose the spread of French influence at their courts. But in 1765 the right of collecting the revenues of Bengal was granted to the Company in return for pensions to the Mogul emperor, whose power by now had become very small, and to the rulers of Bengal. From this point began the real expansion of British influence. The Company was now the real ruler of a great province, and whether it wanted to or not—usually it did not—it found itself drawn into the political affairs of India. This brought about interference by the government of Britain, which in 1773 and 1784 passed Acts of Parliament to regulate the conduct of Indian affairs by the Company. There was a Governor-General at Calcutta, appointed from Britain, to control political affairs. At first the servants of the Company ruled very badly, but matters were much improved by the great Governor-General, Warren Hastings. Up to 1858 this system of 'dual control' remained, the British government through the Governor-General controlling political affairs, while the Directors of the Company looked after trading matters. At the end of the eighteenth century Lord Cornwallis put the government and the affairs of the Company into better order, though he made one or two bad mistakes. Hastings, Cornwallis, and most of the later Governor-Generals, did their best to rule for the good of the Company's subjects, putting this before mere trading interests. By 1833 the Company no longer held the monopoly of trade with India; other merchants were



INDIA

showing growth of British power

British Territory in 1805
Acquisitions 1805 - 1858
" since 1858
Feudatory States
PERSIA
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
Indus
PUNJAB
BALUCHISTAN
Sutlej
Delhi
RAJPUTANA
AJMER
NEPAL
OUDH
Brahmaputra
BHUTAN
Ganges
ASSAM
BENGAL
Calcutta
CHINA
BURMA
Mandalay
Rangoon
SIAM
CENTRAL PROVS
BERAR
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
Circars
ARABIAN SEA
Bombay
GOA (Portuguese)
MYSORE
CARNATIC
Madras
Pondicherry (Fr.)
COORG
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
BAY OF BENGAL
Andaman Islands
Nicobar Islands
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

allowed to trade, though they were not allowed to settle or to own land.

The spread of British rule. Much against his will Cornwallis was drawn into conflict with the ruler of Mysore in South India (Tipu by name, the determined enemy of the British), and with the powerful people of Western India known as Marathas. This was largely due to French intrigue, as the Napoleonic wars had begun, and it was known that Napoleon had designs on India. The Company's land increased in extent, particularly when Marquess Wellesley, brother of the famous Duke of Wellington, was Governor-General. The Marquess determined to put an end to the plundering raids of the Marathas, and his brother defeated them in several great battles. Many years before, the French had shown that it was possible to raise large and excellent armies from the warlike races of India, when taught Western methods of fighting by European officers. The British copied their example with great success, and it was mainly with the Company's Indian troops, assisted by some British regiments, that the victories of Clive and Wellesley were won. Some Indian rulers made war on the British, after which their lands were taken over to be administered by the Company; treaties of permanent alliance were made with other rulers, by which they kept control over their lands, subject to certain conditions; these conditions were usually that all external affairs were to be in the control of the British government, and that their territories were to be properly administered, for which purpose a British Resident was stationed at their courts, to advise them. With some of the Indian states 'subsidiary alliances' were made, by which their armies consisted of troops raised by the Company and paid by the rulers. These states varied from large areas like Haidarabad to very small ones of not more than a few square miles.

By 1825 the Company ruled or controlled the whole Ganges valley, nearly all Southern India, and most of the Maratha lands in Central India. Only the Punjab and Sind out of India proper remained completely independent. The latter was occupied in 1843 by a war of naked aggression, the only war in the history of the Company to which this description can fairly be given. Trouble on the North-west frontier with Afghanistan affected the Sikhs of the Punjab, who hitherto had been kept from war with the British by their wise ruler Ranjit Singh; this led to the annexation of this rich province in 1846. On the other side of India the Burmese had been given to raiding on the frontier of Bengal: in the 'fifties the coast provinces were occupied, after two wars, and in 1886 the kingdom of Upper Burma was taken, largely to prevent the French from taking it. Burma itself was never a part of India, and was joined to it for administrative reasons only. In 1937 it was separated, and given a new constitution with considerable powers of self-government for its people. At the same time, the strategic port of Aden, and the large Aden protectorate in Southern Arabia, were separated from the Government of India, and placed under the Colonial Office.

The administration of India under the Company. Having seen how this great extent of territory passed under British rule, we must now see how it was administered by the Company. The basis of Indian life has always been the cultivation of the land, and by far the greatest part of the population consisted of '*raiyats*'. A raiyat was a peasant cultivator working on a small area of land, from which he raised just enough for his own and his family's needs, after he had handed over a certain share to his ruler or rulers. This share was called 'land revenue', and was until recent years the main source of government revenue. The rulers in the past often granted to subordinates the right of collecting this revenue, and in Mogul times such grants often led to great oppression of the raiyat. Other disadvantages which he had to endure were raids by invaders and robbers, disease, and failure of crops due to the ruthless climate of India. During the eighteenth century, as in several other periods of Indian history, the raiyats were hardly ever free from these dangers. To overcome as many of these disadvantages as possible is therefore the main problem which any government ruling over Indian territory must face. Many of the other difficulties which governments of the present day have to meet, however, were not present in India, because every Indian belonged to a family and usually to a caste. The family looked after its own members when ill or too old to work, and membership of the caste into which a man was born fixed his position in life, whether he was a Brahmin, a slave, or an 'untouchable' outcaste, and very frequently decided his occupation as well. From the cradle to the grave his religion, on which the caste system is based, in the case of Hindus, dictated the whole course of his life. Perhaps the main fact to note is that the Indian raiyat always suffered dire poverty.

Wherever the British have ruled, their great gift to their subjects has been that of good order and security, the very first condition of civilised life. This took a long time to establish in India, but by the time the Company's rule came to an end, in 1858, it may fairly be said that this was done. The raiyat could now labour in peace:

but his poverty did not decrease, owing to the great increase of population, and his incurable habit of getting into debt to the moneylender. The British always tried to interfere as little as possible with the laws and customs of India, though they put an end to slavery, to human sacrifice, to '*sati*', that is, the burning of widows on their dead husbands' funeral pyres, and to a few other customs which seemed to them cruel and uncivilised. But before the Company's rule ended they introduced certain new things—some industries organised on Western lines, Western education for the higher classes, permission to Christian missionaries to introduce their religion, and really efficient administration based on the idea that government exists for the good of the governed. They also made bad mistakes, such as the 'permanent settlement' of the Bengal land system on the wrong lines, and the failure to appreciate Indian culture at its true worth: but these cannot fairly be said to outweigh the good done by the establishment of order and security.

The Rising of 1857. Dalhousie, Governor-General from 1848 to 1856, was very anxious to push on Western civilisation in India; for instance, he introduced railways and telegraphs. He believed that by so doing he would be, as he said, 'founding British greatness on Indian happiness'. India was in reality well served by him and by most of the Company's servants like Munro and Elphinstone, who did their best to understand Indians and their problems and difficulties. But some of the mistakes made led in 1857 to an armed rising in Oudh and other parts, particularly among the Company's Indian troops; in this rising many cruelties were perpetrated. The rising was put down with great severity, and had many unfortunate effects.

Western education had been definitely introduced in 1833, partly with the intention, as it was later on expressed, of providing for 'the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration'. But such association was definitely put back for several generations by the events of 1857. One great change for the better which did result was the abolition of the old system of 'dual control', i.e. by the Company and by the British Raj (government) and the transference of the government of India direct to the British Crown. Queen Victoria was proclaimed ruler of India in 1858, ruling through a Viceroy, and in 1877 took the title of 'Empress of India'. Some of the words of the proclamation are significant: 'We will that . . . due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India.' 'It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.' 'We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions: and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.'

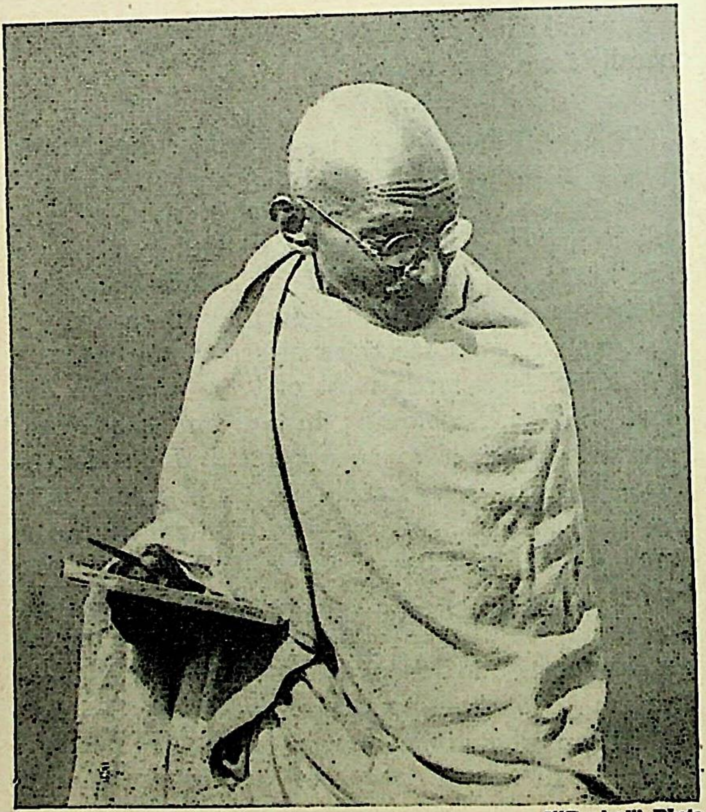
The administration of India under the Crown. Entrance to the Indian Civil Service was thrown open to competition in 1853, and some of the ablest young men from the

British Universities were attracted to it. They set themselves to make the Government of India as efficient as possible in promoting the material well-being of the Indian peoples. This was done largely by a great system of 'Public Works'—the construction of roads, canals, and railways, the organisation of relief in times of famine, irrigation, and the making of good harbours. The newly-introduced industries of jute and cotton growing on a large scale, and of tea planting, were regulated, and many other things were done to improve administration and the condition of the people. In the present century they strove to improve the lot of the raiyat by the introduction of scientific agriculture, tenancy acts, and co-operative credit societies. To do all this required money. Great loans were raised, mainly from British capital, and the revenue system was reorganised on a more firm and just basis. Much money was spent on Universities, but not nearly enough on elementary education. The construction of the Suez Canal and the improvement of steamships brought India much nearer to Europe, and trade increased rapidly. In all these ways the great sub-continent of India was becoming *unified*, almost without its people realising it.

A further point to be noticed is the problem of defence. India has always been liable to attack from the North-west and from the sea, and to a lesser extent from the North-east. The British Navy kept the coasts safe from hostile ships and the sea clear of pirates, while the great problem of land defence was always that of the North-west frontier, where lived fierce tribes who were always ready to descend in plundering raids on the plains of India. Much attention was given to the defence of this frontier, and later to that of the North-east frontier also. The British and Indian armies did their best to keep these frontiers as quiet as possible; some extension of territory was made for this purpose, notably to Baluchistan, and several wars were fought with the neighbouring state of Afghanistan, and with some of the frontier tribes. The success of this defence may well have saved the peaceful cultivators of the Punjab and of North India generally from great misery.

Indian Nationalism and the growth of self-government. Western education for many years had marked effects on the minds of Indians who had received it; and it resulted in the growth of a new 'middle class', consisting mainly of members of professions such as law, medicine, engineering and government service. This education, given in many schools and universities run on Western lines, made most of these educated people believe that self-governing institutions like those of Great Britain ought to be applied to India, and that Indians were perfectly capable of working such institutions, both in the higher posts of the Civil Service, and as ministers and members of legislative assemblies. Many of them also laid stress, very rightly, on the necessity for reviving their ancient thought and culture, which for a time seemed in danger of being swamped by 'English education'. Moreover, they were waking up to the existence of countless difficult social problems which had to be solved. In the early part of the nineteenth century there were, too, several great movements in the religious sphere, of which the best known are the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. All these did much to make Indians realise that India was once again becoming a unity, and that their immense country needed public-spirited service from its peoples, service which could best be given by the educated class; and they were coming to resent more and more the fact that all its public affairs were being run by foreign officials, and much of its industry and commerce by business men coming from overseas.

These feelings brought about the formation, in 1885,



["Topical" Photo

Mahatma Gandhi

of the Indian National Congress, which has met every year since then, and which set up a tremendous political organisation to agitate for reforms. The first demands it put forward were for the admission of Indians to all posts in the public services, and the introduction of parliamentary institutions. But the British government, both in India and in England, was very slow to respond to these demands; for most leading officials believed that a 'benevolent autocracy' was the best form of government for so diversified and politically uneducated a country. Eventually it was decided to introduce both these principles; but this was done so slowly that many Indians were driven to intense bitterness by the delays, and eventually the 'extreme' party became all-powerful in Congress. Many of its leaders came to believe that British rule had done more harm than good, though others did definitely recognise and acknowledge its benefits. The best-known of the latter were Gokhale and Banerjee, while Tilak was partly responsible for furthering more extreme views.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century great industries such as cotton mills, steel works, and coal-mines, were growing up in India. As the country had always been a very profitable market for British cotton goods from Lancashire, the new industrialists resented the fact that the British government clung obstinately to the doctrine of 'Free Trade' and did nothing to protect the growing cotton manufacture against Lancashire competition. It may also be noted that working conditions in mills and factories were often deplorable.

In 1892 a small measure of political reform was given, which was considerably increased by the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909. But none of these were generous enough to satisfy even moderate opinion: men like Gokhale pressed for more, and Tilak, the leader of the extremists, did not withhold his approval from the violent measures which some young men in Bengal were taking. When the First World War broke out in 1914, practically the whole of India rallied to the Allied cause; great contributions of men, money and materials were made to the Empire's war effort and Indian troops fought in France, Mesopotamia and East Africa. Many Indians not unnaturally expected a large and speedy measure of self-government as a result of this; but they did not get it till 1919, when the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, issuing in the Government of India Act of that year, became law. Some departments of government were entirely 'transferred' to the control of Indian ministers in the provincial councils, while others were 'reserved' to that of the permanent government officials. These reforms by no means satisfied the Congress, especially as they were accompanied by some repressive acts; and a renewed agitation broke out. In this the principal figure was that of Mahatma Gandhi, who came to be recognised as one of the great personalities of the world. A certain amount of rioting took place, which assumed serious proportions at Amritsar, in the Punjab, in 1919; it was put down with great severity, in a manner which aroused very bitter feelings. These were intensified by the attitude of the European population in South Africa and Kenya towards Indian settlers in those places.

Mahatma Gandhi's method of agitation was 'Non-violence'; that is, passive resistance to certain acts of the government. His immense reputation for holiness made the influence of Congress under his leadership extend from the middle class to many of the peasants and working classes. The success of his and of his supporters' work, which may be called the 'Indian national movement', will be shown in Chapter XXVIII.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XV

The sub-continent of India has a very ancient history indeed; but in this chapter, after a short explanation of some characteristics of the country, and a brief indication of its condition in early modern times, when Europeans first came to its shores, we deal mainly with an account of British rule in India and its remarkable effects. For about a hundred years the country was under the rule of a trading company, at least nominally; but in actual fact the British government was sending out rulers for upwards of a century. The work of the British was to establish law and order, and to introduce numerous economic changes: almost unconsciously they created a sense of nationality and a keen desire for self-government. The administrative system and the reaction against the 'bureaucratic' rule of the British are both briefly described.

The Cambridge History of India, Volumes 5 and 6, give a full account of British India up to 1918. Dodwell, 'History of India since the Mutiny', takes the reader up to 1908. Ronaldshay's 'Bird's-eye View of India' deals with India shortly after the Great War of 1914. Ramsay Muir's 'Making of British India' surveys the acquisition of the country, mainly from documentary sources. Vincent Smith's 'Oxford History of India' still remains a most useful general survey. Holderness's 'Peoples and Problems of India' (Home University Library) is useful. Considerable information may be obtained from Volume I of the Simon Commission's Report. There are many works on modern India written by Indians, some of which should certainly be consulted; for instance, Dutt, 'India in the Victorian Age', Thakore, 'Indian Administration to the Dawn of Responsible Government', Yusuf Ali, 'India and Europe'. Garratt and Thompson, 'Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India', may also be consulted.

Some Important Dates.

1600. Charter given to the English East India Company.
1763. The French driven from their Indian possessions.
1765. Real beginning of British expansion ('diwani' of Bengal).
1784. Pitt's India Act; system of 'Dual Control'.
1833. Definite introduction of education on Western lines.
1857. Rising suppressed.
1858. Abolition of East India Company: sole control by British Crown.
1885. Beginning of Indian National Congress.
1919. Grant of partial self-government; system of 'Dyarchy'.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

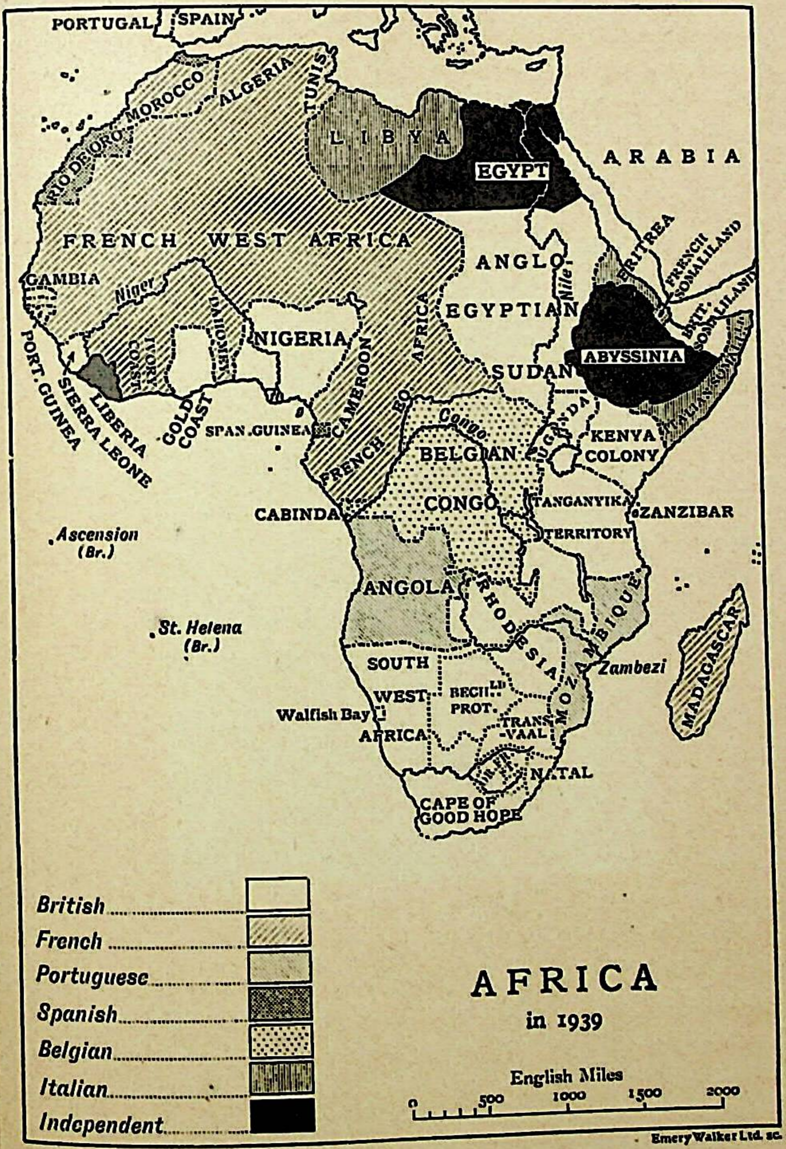
Britain's position in the world after 1815. At the close of the Napoleonic wars Britain was certainly the leading power of the world beyond Europe, holding possessions in North America, India, and the West Indies, and on the coasts of Africa and Australia. During these wars she had also taken most of Holland's colonial possessions, but in 1815 handed them all back except Cape Colony and Ceylon. For a time the British colonies were governed on the old lines, but with the abolition of slavery and the adoption of a Free Trade policy, the old idea that colonies existed for the benefit of the home country was given up. Many men thought that those colonies which were populated by people of European origin, such as Canada, would only remain within the Empire until they were 'ripe' for self-government, when they would peacefully separate. Certain colonies, such as Ceylon, Cape Colony, and Gibraltar, were important for the defence of India by the navy; others were useful trading or naval stations. The West Indies, once thought most important of all, were rapidly losing their prosperity. For the most part British statesmen were anxious not to increase the Empire any further.

It has already been shown how the colonies in temperate climates grew and obtained responsible government, yet keenly desired to remain united to the British home country. The statesmen who had expected them to drop off 'like ripe pears' had made an error in this matter:

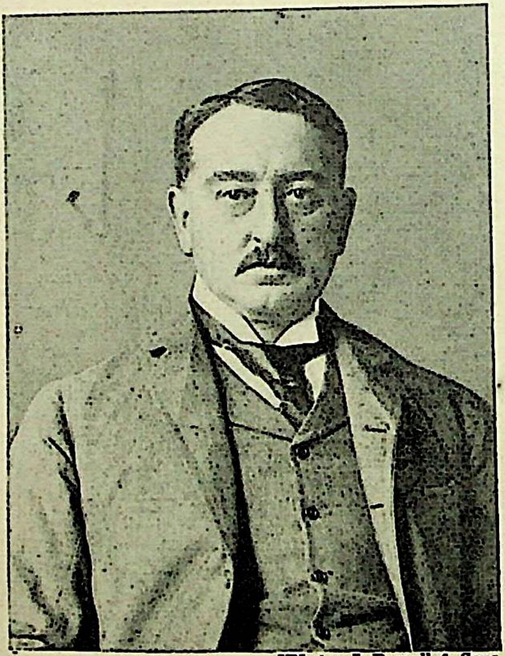
they were equally mistaken as to the Empire's growth. This went on rapidly, owing to British traders seeking markets for British goods outside Europe, and British manufacturers seeking raw materials for making them. Other European countries were likewise seeking the same things for their traders and manufacturers.

The opening up of Africa. During the 'thirties of last century France became drawn into the affairs of Algeria, on the north coast of Africa, and by 1848 had annexed the whole country, finally turning it into a French province. The check to their ambitions in Europe by their defeat in the Franco-German war of 1870 led them to develop colonial activity, and in this they were encouraged by the German statesman Bismarck, to distract them from wanting revenge. From Algeria, and from the old French trading stations on the west coast of Africa, French traders and explorers pushed rapidly inland, and making agreements with local chiefs, brought vast territories in North-west Africa under the French flag. To the east of Algeria they took over Tunis in 1881, from its nominal dependence on Turkey, much to the annoyance of Italy, as we shall see later on. Two years after this they claimed a protectorate over the great island of Madagascar, to the south-east of the continent, and annexed it in 1896.

German traders also came to realise the importance of African lands for tropical produce such as palm oil and nuts. Their efforts to acquire territories were supported by the German government, and considerable territories were annexed. This movement was regarded with sympathy by the British government: but British traders, supported by public opinion, forced their leaders to embark also on the penetration and annexation of the


PORTUGAL
SPAIN
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNIS
LIBYA
EGYPT
ARABIA
RIO DE ORO
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
GAMBIA
Niger
PORT. GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
DAHOMEY
NIGERIA
SPAN. GUINEA
CAMEROON
FRENCH EQ. AFRICA
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Nile
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRIT. SOMALILAND
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
UGANDA
KENYA COLONY
Congo
BELGIAN CONGO
CABINDA
TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
ZANZIBAR
Ascension (Br.)
St. Helena (Br.)
ANGOLA
RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
Zambezi
MADAGASCAR
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
Walfish Bay
BECH. PROT.
TRANS-VAAL
O.F.S.
NATAL
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
British
French
Portuguese
Spanish
Belgian
Italian
Independent
AFRICA
in 1939
English Miles
0
500
1000
1500
2000
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

interior of this great continent. The possibility of carrying wholesome food in tins, and the improvements in medical science made long expeditions practicable. Much pioneering work was done by British explorers such as the famous missionary, Livingstone, the Anglo-American Stanley, and such men as Baker and Speke, in rendering the dark interior of the continent known. Germany acquired lands in East, West, and South-west Africa. France had nearly all the North-west, while Britain obtained large territories in Central Africa, and penetrated inland to Nigeria from the settlements on



[*Photo: J. Russell & Sons*

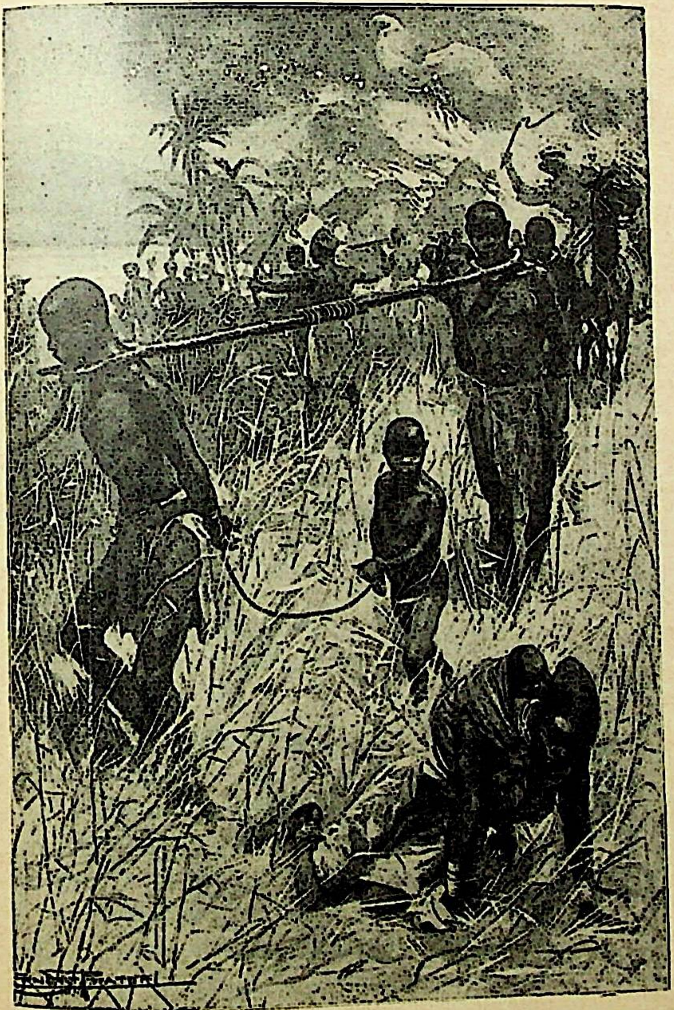
Cecil Rhodes

the west coast, and to Kenya and Uganda from those on the east.

At the same time interesting events were taking place in the north-east, in Egypt and the Sudan. The Suez Canal had been cut by French enterprise in 1869. This was of immense importance to Britain, as a new and quicker route to India. In 1876 the ruler of Egypt, the Khedive Ismail, went bankrupt, after grossly misgoverning his country, and spending money wildly. The British statesman Disraeli bought his shares in the Suez Canal Company for the British government. Both Britain and France now felt compelled to interfere in Egypt, on account of the large sums of money which this Khedive had borrowed. In 1879 the Sultan of Turkey, nominal overlord of Egypt, deposed Ismail in favour of his son, Tewfik, the heir-apparent. Three years later the Egyptian army, led by Arabi Pasha, rebelled, and many foreigners were murdered. The French refused to take action, but the British sent an army which defeated Arabi, who was sent as a prisoner to Ceylon. Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, was sent as Agent and Consul-General to advise the new Khedive. With the aid of British officials Cromer entirely reorganised the administration of Egypt, and British officers did the same for the Egyptian army. In 1881 a great Muslim movement, led by a fanatic known as 'The Mahdi', arose in the Sudan, a land to the south of Egypt, which the Egyptians had tried quite unsuccessfully to rule. The celebrated General Gordon, sent to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons, was killed at Khartoum in 1885; the Sudan was left to the tender mercies of the Mahdi, and its population went down by five-sixths. However, Egypt itself, from a poor and misgoverned country, became one in which the peasants were no longer oppressed, the finances were in good order, the army was efficient and well-led, and prosperity, owing to the proper control of the Nile waters, and the development of cotton growing, was increasing by leaps and bounds. This was all due to the efficiency of the British administration and the proper use made of loans, mainly from British capital.

It may thus be said that during the years from 1880 to 1890 almost the whole of Africa came under the control of European countries. This partition was done peaceably by means of international congresses, especially by one held in Berlin in 1884. The boundaries of British, French and German spheres of influence were defined. The Portuguese also expanded inland from their ancient coastal possessions: while the basin of the river Congo, a vast area in the very centre of Africa, was handed over to King Leopold of Belgium to administer.

During the nineteenth century the British had been trying their best to put down the cruel trade in slaves. By 1890 all the other European powers had agreed to help, and this inhuman traffic which once ravaged all Africa has now nearly ceased. Warfare between tribes has come to an end, and in many places, especially under British rule, schools have been started. The Germans administered their colonies harshly, and in order to profit by them, though they rarely did so. After the First World War these colonies were taken away from them, and handed over, under the general control of the League of Nations, to other countries as 'mandated territories'. The Congo territory was 'exploited', that is, administered for his private profit, by King Leopold, and many injustices were suffered by the natives. However, on his death in 1908 the Belgian government took it over, and there has been a great improvement. The French system has been to try to turn their subjects into French



A Slave Caravan

citizens, though with some of the backward tribes this would seem almost impossible. The British system was different; their idea was to rule through local chiefs according to native custom as far as possible (except where such customs were too cruel), with supervision by British officials. They built roads and railways, and undertook other public works, and have done much to introduce various industries, such as cocoa growing in West Africa and coffee planting in Kenya, as well as to develop the palm oil and other trades. There are belts of land where the tsetse fly kills all beasts of burden with its deadly bite; here it was very difficult to make railways, but it was done. Roads and railways made it possible for the products of the interior to be brought down to the coast, and harbour works enable them to be shipped to the manufacturers. Such public works cost great sums of money, which has been largely supplied by British capital, much of it by government loans.

In much of Africa the population was savage and intensely ignorant, but this was not the case in Egypt. From 1896 to 1898 British and British-led Egyptian armies reconquered the Sudan and delivered it from the terrible tyranny of the fanatics who were oppressing it. Since this time the Sudan has greatly increased in population and prosperity. In Egypt itself arose a party which wanted self-government. During the First World War Britain declared Egypt free from Turkish overlordship, and a British protectorate. But after peace was made the British government decided to withdraw slowly from the country, and allow the Egyptians to manage their own affairs.

In 1922 a treaty was made, not altogether satisfactory to the Egyptian nationalists, and anti-British agitation continued. In 1937 a more successful one was made, leaving the British little more than the right to garrison the Suez Canal. After the outbreak of war in 1939 the British army saved Egypt from invasion by the Germans and Italians, the Egyptian government in general co-operating satisfactorily.

European colonies in Asia. Early in the nineteenth century the British held India and Ceylon, and had the small islands of Singapore and Hongkong to safeguard the East India Company's trade with China. Hongkong became a very busy port, and by 1939 the little island, together with territories on the Chinese mainland which were leased in 1898, contained 850,000 inhabitants. When the Japanese went to war with the British at the end of 1941, they soon captured Hongkong, but had to give it back when they were defeated. After the war hundreds of thousands of Chinese, fleeing from the new Communist government in China, entered the island, so that by the end of 1957 its population was two and a half million.

Singapore also grew very important. The Malays were a race given to piracy, which had to be stopped. This led to considerable trouble, but finally the rulers of the Malay peninsula decided to put themselves under British protection, and in 1895 came together to form the Federated Malay States. Here immense developments took place: rich tin mines were worked, and vast rubber plantations established. Thousands of industrious Indians and Chinese came in to do the work which the Malays would not perform: one Chinaman was heard to remark 'How lucky it is for us that the British have come here to rule, so that we can make money'. The opening up of the peninsula was attended by all kinds of dangers and difficulties, but they were successfully overcome, and the inhabitants were able to enjoy all the blessings of peace and order, until the sudden invasion by the Japanese in 1942. The freeing of Malaya from these invaders, and the way in which the country became The Federation of Malaya, and a fully self-governing member of the Commonwealth of Nations will be described in Chapter XXVIII.

When the British took over the beautiful island of Ceylon from the Dutch, they found themselves in possession of the whole island, except for the small independent kingdom of Kandy in the mountain mass in the centre of the island, a kingdom which had for 300 years successfully resisted the efforts of the Portuguese and Dutch invaders to capture it. The British, however, took it over in 1815, after driving out its king, by treaty with the Kandyan chiefs. Ever since that time, except for one or two small rebellions, Ceylon has had a very peaceful history. The people of the two races who inhabited it, the Sinhalese, who were the majority, and the Tamils, seemed quite contented with British rule. The British introduced first the growing of coffee, which was later ruined by a pest, but for which the growing of tea was successfully substituted, in the high hills and, later on, the growing of rubber lower down. Most of the revenue of Ceylon, directly and indirectly, comes from tea. The British introduced Tamil labour from South India to work on the plantations as the Sinhalese people did not care for that kind of work; there are nearly a million of them there still.

The people of Ceylon were intelligent and took readily to Western education. From the beginning of the nineteenth century a movement grew up among the educated classes, rather like that in India, though with far less bitterness of feeling, for a greater share in the government of their country. Between the two world wars this was willingly conceded by the British government. Ceylon's progress to full independence within the Commonwealth will be dealt with in Chapter XXVIII.

The island of Ceylon possesses the two best harbours in the Indian Ocean, Colombo and Trincomalee. The latter is a magnificent natural harbour and its existence was the main reason for the British wanting to possess the island, for naval purposes. Colombo is a fine artificial harbour whence the products of Ceylon are shipped; it is also an important port of call for shipping from Europe coming through the Suez Canal to Australia and the Far East.

Further east the French in the nineteenth century took over most of the peninsula of Indo-China, Siam (now called Thailand) alone remaining independent. The Dutch retained Java, Sumatra, and many other islands in Southern Asia: these they very greatly developed, and produced great wealth, introducing such industries as rubber and tea, and many others besides. Both these European countries lost their Asian colonies to the Japanese during the Second World War, and though they got them back for a time, things were never the same. For a few years after the war, the French kept the states of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam as 'associated states' within the French Union, but in Vietnam a strong Communist movement, combined with national feelings against the foreigner, kept a state of war going. This has been brought to an end, but the country is still uneasily divided between Communist and anti-Communist. The French have decided to quit the Far East altogether and these countries are now independent. The Dutch even sooner found it impossible to hold their former colonies, and decided to give up all of them except their half of New Guinea: from these the new state of Indonesia was formed, which so far has had great difficulty in maintaining order within its widely dispersed territories.

The Pacific. In the islands of the Pacific Ocean there has been for many years a great trade in copra, which is a very valuable product of the tropics, used for making soap and artificial butter. Early in the 'eighties Germany turned her attention to these islands and annexed some of them, including parts of Samoa and New Guinea. The Australians did not like this, and persuaded the British government to take another part of New Guinea, and many small islands. The United States of America joined in the scramble for lands, and took Hawaii, part of Samoa, and after a war with Spain, the Philippine Islands. After the First World War the German possessions were given as 'mandated territories' to Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. Contrary to the terms on which the mandate was granted, Japan turned the groups of islands she had acquired into strongly fortified naval and air bases. When she quitted the League of Nations in 1931, she refused to give them up; and after she entered the Second World War as a combatant in December 1941, proceeded to seize nearly all the islands, great and small, in South-East Asia, though she had to give them all up when she was defeated.

Europe and the World. It is now clear that by 1939 European and American influence had spread far and wide all over the world. Nothing could happen in any corner of it without European countries and the United States of America being very much interested. Any event which took place became immediately known by telegraph and wireless, and everyone read about it in the newspapers. Railways and fast ships could convey people and goods everywhere in a quite short space of time, and things grown or manufactured in any part of the world could be brought and taken to any other parts which might want them. This remarkable development was the work of quite a few countries, Britain, France, Holland, the United States, and Germany. Some of these countries tried to keep trade in their own hands, and protect their manufactures by placing high duties on those of other countries. Britain did not do this, but remained up to 1932 a 'free trade' country, though the self-governing dominions were 'protectionist'. Restrictions such as those were the only bar to trade being rightly called 'world-wide'. Goods manufactured in industrial countries could be got almost anywhere by anyone in any country with the money to buy them—a great change from a century earlier, when in most parts of the world the people of one country and even of one village made everything they wanted for themselves. In other words, the world had become 'one economic unit'. This change greatly influenced the daily lives of the peoples of tropical countries; they were becoming used to the manufactured products of the industrial countries, for which they exchanged their own products, or the wages of their labour. The more their trade increases, the farther do such peoples depart from their ancient customs and habits. It is still very necessary that they should receive proper education, in order that they may understand how to use these manufactured articles wisely and well, to benefit and not to destroy their fellow creatures. For several years law and order may have to be enforced, as in parts of Africa to-day, by outside powers. But the intention of the countries who were members of the League of Nations, as expressed in the Covenant of that body, was that the rights of the more backward peoples should be protected, and that they should be educated in such a way as to enable them finally to take charge of their own affairs for themselves, if and when they should prove themselves fit for the task. We shall read in the last chapter of this book how rapidly this intention has been and is being carried out, especially since the end of the Second World War and the setting up of the United Nations. If that war had been won by the aggressive powers of Germany, Italy and Japan, as for a time seemed likely, it is very doubtful if this would have happened, for when they obtained domination over other peoples, they showed themselves very hard taskmasters.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XVI

The first stage in the expansion of European influence resulted in the colonisation of South America by the Spanish and Portuguese. The second stage saw the establishment of colonies in those parts of the world having temperate climates, by the Dutch, French, and British, all of which passed into the possession of the last named, as did the sub-continent of India, the main reason being the possession of sea power. The third stage, of more recent date, started mostly from bases acquired during the second stage, and resulted in the acquisition by European states of the rest of the world, except China and Japan, the Muslim countries of the Near and Middle East, and one or two other countries of minor importance; this last expansion took place mostly over tropical lands inhabited by backward peoples, and it is this stage of which the story is told in this chapter. The principal reason for such expansion was the need of tropical products by the industrial countries of Europe and America, and the expansion was only made possible by the advance of modern science: it has been most marked in Africa, but has also taken place in parts of Asia and in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. After the end of the Second World War, the influence of European countries, anyhow in the political sense, declined very rapidly indeed.

Ramsay Muir's 'Expansion of Europe' is the best general guide to the subject-matter of this chapter. Other useful books, particularly on Africa, are Johnston's 'The Opening Up of Africa' (Home University Library), and his larger book, 'The Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races'. Livingstone's 'Missionary Travels', Stanley's 'In Darkest Africa', and other books of exploration give interesting descriptions of Africa in the earlier days of European influence.

Some Important Dates.

The piecemeal character of the above-mentioned expansion makes it difficult to give outstanding dates, but the following may give a little help:

1815. Retention of Ceylon by the British.
1819. Foundation of Singapore by the British.
1830–1839. French conquest of Algeria.
1869. Opening of Suez Canal.
1881–1890. Partition of Africa among European states.
1884. Germany began to acquire colonies.
1898. Hawaii annexed by U.S.A.
1919. Beginning of 'mandatory system', under League of Nations' supervision.

G

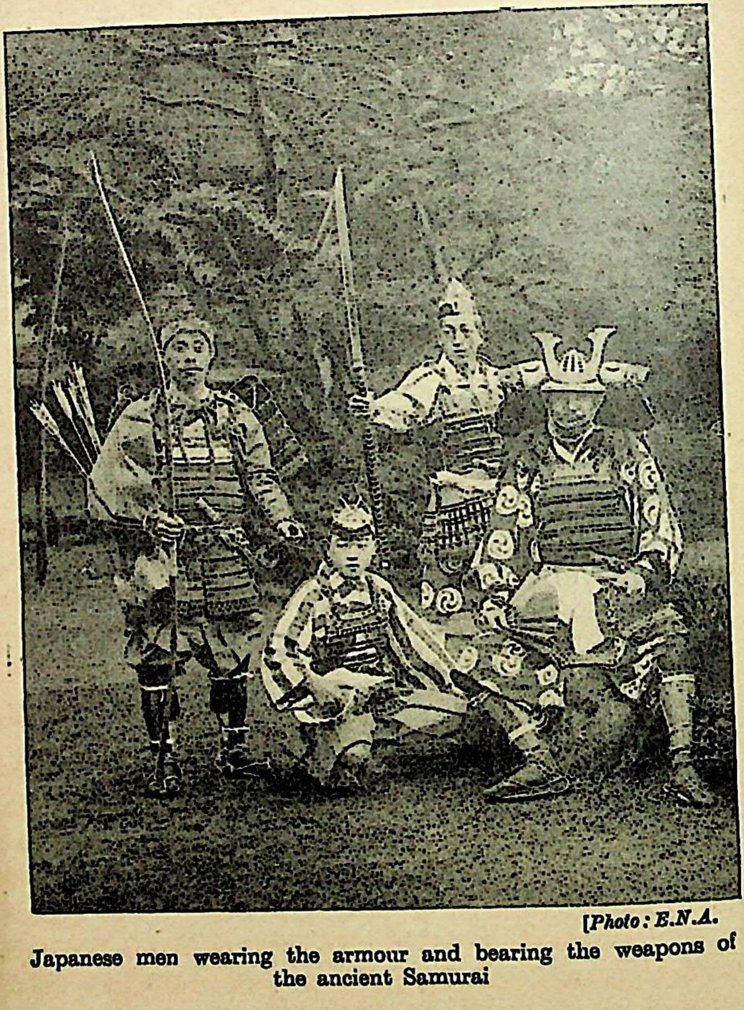
CHAPTER XVII

THE FAR EAST

China in the past. In ancient times there grew up in the Far East, separated from the rest of the world by ocean, desert and mountain barriers, a remarkable civilisation apparently unaffected by outside influences. The only influence directly traceable in Chinese affairs which originated from outside China was that of the Buddhist religion, which entirely converted Tibet and spread widely over China proper. This great area, containing over 400 million people, came in very early times under the rule of one sovereign, and so remained until quite recently. The Chinese heartily despised the rest of the world, and, while willing to trade with foreigners outside their own borders, even as far west as Ceylon, would not admit them into China itself, except to a few coast ports, and even then under very unfavourable conditions. Thus when European merchant traders first came to China, in the sixteenth century, desiring trade, they found it very hard to establish. The Chinese showed little desire for the goods of those whom they scornfully described as 'barbarians', refused to receive ambassadors, and were only willing to sell surplus goods like tea and silk. Such was the state of affairs up to the early years of the nineteenth century.

The opening up of China. For several centuries the wealth of China had been known to Europe, and Western merchants eagerly sought the profitable trade which might be opened with that country. Britain had become the chief trading power in the East, and for some time a profitable though illicit trade in opium from India had been conducted by British merchants. In 1839 the Chinese authorities suddenly took active measures against the trade; here they were quite within their rights, but went much too far, ill-treating all British merchants. This ill-treatment was strongly resented by the British government, which felt compelled to make a war in which the British were easily successful. As a result a treaty was made in 1842; the island of Hongkong was handed over to them, and trading privileges at certain ports in South China were conceded. This treaty was followed by others with various European powers, and with the United States of America. Later on the Emperor of China agreed to receive foreign ambassadors, and to admit traders and missionaries to the interior of his country. The murder of a British consul in 1874 led to still more concessions, including the right of setting up foreign courts to try cases in which foreigners were involved—this right being known as 'extra-territoriality'.

The opening up of Japan. Off the east coast of China is a group of islands, two large and a number of small ones, known as Japan. From very early times these have been ruled by the 'Mikado' of Japan. European traders and missionaries visited this country as early as the sixteenth century, but the spread of the Christian religion alarmed the Japanese, and in 1636 the country was closed to all foreigners except a few Dutch merchants, and the Christian religion was suppressed. The Mikado had sunk to the position of a merely nominal ruler; the real power was in the hands of a minister known as the 'Shogun', and of a number of noble families whose heads were called



[*Photo: E.N.A.*

Japanese men wearing the armour and bearing the weapons of the ancient Samurai

'Daimios', and whose retainers were a knightly class called 'Samurai'.

In 1853 an American, Commodore Perry, with a few warships, forced the Shogun to reopen the country to foreigners. Treaties were made with several foreign countries, and certain ports were opened to traders. Some of the Daimios now determined to put an end to the power of the Shogun, and in 1867 this was successfully effected. The Mikado was restored to power, and in the same year a new Mikado, Mutsuhito by name, ascended the throne. He and his advisers, seeing the strength of the European countries, determined to make Japan just as strong as any of them. The power of the Daimios and the Samurai was swept away, not without much fighting, and the reorganisation of Japan on Western lines began. Parliamentary institutions were set up, machinery, railways, and Western science were introduced, and a powerful army and navy were organised on European models. Certain leading Japanese went to Europe to study conditions there, and brought Europeans to Japan to teach the people Western methods. Before long both nobles and people rallied loyally around the Mikado; there was a revival of the State religion, of which he is the head, and the Japanese became intensely 'nationalist'. In this task the Mikado was aided by several great statesmen, notably Marquis Ito, who himself went to Europe and became largely responsible for modelling the Japanese army and the Japanese government on lines similar to those of Germany. The navy was modelled on that of Britain. Everything was to be done as *efficiently* as possible.

Japan, China and Korea. The Japanese had always shown considerable interest in the neighbouring peninsula of

Korea. In 1876 they forced the Korean government to open two ports for trading, and the European countries followed them there. Now Korea was nominally subject to China. However, after some negotiation, China and Japan agreed to recognise Korea as an independent state, and neither country was to send troops there without first informing the other. But Korea was badly governed, and in a state of chaos: in 1894 its ruler appealed to China for help in restoring order. Chinese troops were sent, and the Japanese government acted likewise. A quarrel broke out over this, leading to war between the two countries. To the astonishment of the world the Japanese were easily victorious, both at sea and on land: the new naval and military organisation of Japan was thus tested and proved efficient. China was forced to make peace, at the price of the renewed recognition of Korean independence, the payment of a large sum of money, the granting to Japan of the right of extra-territoriality, and the surrender of certain lands; these were the large island of Formosa, the group of islands called the Pescadores, and a strong position on the mainland of China known as the Liao-Tung peninsula.

China and foreign aggression. The Chinese statesman Li Hung Chang now entered into secret negotiations with Russia and other European countries. The result was that immediately after peace with Japan had been made, Russia, France, and Germany warned the Japanese government that they objected to the surrender of the Liao-Tung peninsula: that government, realising the weakness of its position, gave way, though with secret resentment. But the three European countries now demanded from China compensation for their interference. The French had long been interested in the great peninsula of Indo-China, especially in the kingdom of Annam and the neighbouring province of Tonquin, over which the Chinese claimed overlordship. Already by 1885 they had established a protectorate over these districts, with Chinese consent. Now, after 1894, they obtained commercial privileges in South China, in which parts they recognised themselves as 'specially interested'. Russia had long been deeply concerned with Chinese affairs, for the frontier of her Asiatic territory marches with that of China for several thousand miles. By 1858 she had reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and made arrangements with China, by which the frontier of Russia and Manchuria was settled, and by which Russia received a large stretch of coastline, including the fine harbour of Vladivostok. By 1875 she had compelled Japan to admit her possession of the large island of Sakhalin, in which is found rich mineral wealth. She was becoming, too, 'specially interested' in the great frontier province of Manchuria. After the help given to China in 1894, Russia demanded, and got, the peninsula of Liao-Tung (which the Japanese had just had to give up), on a lease, as well as extensive railway privileges in Manchuria. In 1897 two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung. Germany thereupon seized the port of Kiao-chau, and demanded and got a lease of that port, with railway privileges in the province. Britain was nervous of the Russian advance, especially as the Liao-Tung peninsula contained a good harbour capable of being made into a strongly fortified naval port—Port Arthur by name. Therefore China was induced to lease Wei-hai-wei, in the Shantung province, to Britain, for as long as the Russians should hold Port Arthur. In this way it came to look as if China was going to be divided among foreign countries, by means of 'spheres of influence' claimed by Russia in Manchuria, by France in South China, by Germany in Shantung, by Britain in the valley of the great river Yang-tze-Kiang, and by Japan in the province of Fuh-Kien, opposite her newly-won island of Formosa. In 1898 the United States of America had gone to war with Spain, and had taken from that country the Philippine Islands, which lie some way to the south of Formosa. However, they did not try to create a sphere of influence, but demanded of all the European countries concerned, and of Japan, that there should be no restrictions placed upon trade in these spheres. This is known as the 'open door' policy. The British gave a ready assent to this demand, the other countries agreed, but less readily, with the exception of Russia, which gave a doubtful answer.

It may be wondered what the Chinese themselves thought of this danger of having their land divided among foreign powers. For the greater part of the nineteenth century the Chinese and their government had been content to go on despising all foreigners, to resist their coming, and to refuse any recognition of their civilisation—unlike the Japanese, who saw the real sources of Western strength. However, a party was growing up in China which believed in following the example of Japan, and after 1898 this party was encouraged by the young Emperor. Such encouragement was very unpopular with many of the Chinese. A society grew up rapidly, called 'The Patriotic Harmonious Fists', better known as 'The Boxers', devoted to the idea of driving all foreigners out of China. The Dowager Empress, a woman of remarkable ability who had ruled China before the young Emperor came of age, encouraged the Boxers, and succeeded in getting the Emperor deposed. In 1900 attacks on foreigners, particularly missionaries, and on Chinese Christians, became very frequent. In June of that year the German minister and a Japanese official were murdered in Peking, and all the foreigners in that city were besieged in their houses. Seven countries, Britain, Russia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States, sent troops to rescue the besieged, and forced the Chinese government to put down the Boxer movement instead of encouraging it. This might have led to the final division of China among these countries. But Britain and Germany made an agreement to guarantee the independence of that country, and all the other powers consented, Russia very unwillingly. Thus the policy of the 'open door' was maintained.

Japan and Russia. It had become clear that Russia was determined to get complete control over Manchuria. Such control would threaten Korea; this was, of course, displeasing to Japan, and also to Britain. Therefore in 1902, quite unexpectedly, these two countries made an alliance, the terms of which were that if either country were attacked by more than one other country, the two would support each other in arms. Japan now felt able to challenge the aggressive policy of Russia without interference from Russia's ally, France; and Britain felt that if war broke out between Russia and Japan, there would be less danger of a general European conflict. The Russians would not give up their designs on Manchuria and Korea; therefore, in 1904, Japan declared war. Everyone thought that Russia was bound to win; but so efficient had the Japanese navy and army become, and so great a distance were the Russian army and navy from the 'bases' whence they could get supplies and reinforcements, that Russia was beaten easily at sea and less easily on land. Port Arthur was captured, and the Japanese armies won several hard-fought battles in Manchuria. In 1905 the offer of President Roosevelt of the United States of America to mediate between the two countries was accepted. The Russians quitted Manchuria, and recognised the special interests of Japan in Korea; the lease of the Liao-Tung peninsula was made over to Japan, and the southern half of Sakhalin as well. From this time onward the Japanese policy in Korea was one of constant interference, and in 1910 she deliberately annexed it. The old chaos was replaced by order based on military force, but most Koreans disliked their subjection, and when the Second World War spread to the Far East the Allies promised to restore their freedom after the defeat of Japan.

The Revolution in China. After the failure of the Boxer movement, the Dowager Empress of China began a policy of reform on Western lines. But after her death the reform movement went very much faster, until in 1911 the Chinese rose up and put an end to the dynasty, which had originally come from Manchuria, and was not regarded as truly Chinese. Control of the revolutionary movement was obtained by a republican party named the Kuomintang, led by Dr. Sun-yat-sen, a man who had received a Western education, and a Christian. He became President of the Chinese Republic, but resigned in a year's time in favour of Yuan-shi-Kai, once a high court official. The latter got himself declared Emperor, to the anger of Sun-yat-sen; but in 1916 he died, too early to form a dynasty or indeed to restore order.

The outbreak of war in 1914 meant the capture of the German possessions in Shantung, which were seized by Japan. That country took advantage of the situation in Europe and the chaos in China to pursue an aggressive policy at Chinese expense. In 1915 twenty-one demands were put forward which would have given Japan very great powers of interference; but the most exacting ones were withdrawn. However, the part played by Japan in the war was rewarded at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 by a general admission of Japan's special interests in China, and by permission to keep Kiao-chau: this greatly annoyed the Chinese.

Since that date circumstances have completely altered. In 1921 the Anglo-Japanese alliance was given up in favour of a 'Four-Power' alliance between Britain, France, the United States of America, and Japan, with the objects of guaranteeing Chinese independence, and of keeping peace in and around the Pacific Ocean. It was agreed that the rights of extra-territoriality should be given up as soon as there was a proper government in China. Unfortunately power in that country was falling into the hands of turbulent military leaders who fought each other and lived on the country. The government of Soviet Russia saw an excellent opportunity of spreading Communist principles (*see* Chapter XXIV, on the Russian Revolution), and proceeded to pour arms and ammunition into China, a thing which the other countries in the interests of peace and order had refused to do. From 1925 to 1927 Russian agents exercised immense influence in China. But in the latter year the Kuomintang became weary of being used for Communist purposes, and drove out their agents. Conditions had become so unsafe for foreigners that in 1927 it became necessary for Britain and other countries to send troops to the great treaty port of Shanghai to protect the foreign settlement there. In the end, however, the leaders of the Kuomintang managed to regain much of the power which they had exercised at the beginning of the Revolution. Various 'war-lords' had exercised despotic powers over different parts of China, but by 1927, one of them, Chiang Kai-shek, was the most powerful in Central China. He it was who broke the power of the Communists, and he did his best to unite China under a government centred at Nanking. But the Communists, though crippled, were not destroyed, and continued to hold large districts in the interior of the country. In Manchuria another war-lord, Chang-tso-lin, held a practically independent position; here he came into conflict with the Japanese, and another unhappy chapter opened in the modern history of China, which will be described in Chapter XXVII. In the meantime Chiang Kai-shek's government was recognised by foreign countries, and it appeared for a time as if he might bring back a certain measure of prosperity to China. He became the leader of his country against the Japanese invader, and China's struggle against terrific odds evoked the admiration of the whole world.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XVII

China and Japan, like India, have behind them a very long history of civilisation. But in the nineteenth century, as this chapter shows, both of them began to come into touch with the civilisation of the West. Japan assimilated it eagerly, and profited by it to turn herself from a weak mediaeval into a strong modern state. China resisted it, though not efficiently, and towards the end of the century was in serious danger of partition among the greater states of Europe. This danger was averted by the rise of a national spirit, and by the adoption on the part of a powerful section of the Chinese of Western methods and parts of Western civilisation. But whereas Japan quickly established a strong government, using its ancient ruler for the purpose, China found the task one of the utmost magnitude and difficulty.

The following books will be found useful: Douglas, 'Europe and the Far East', Whyte, 'China and the Foreign Powers', Gubbins, 'Progress of Japan', Okakura, 'Awakening of Japan', and Brinkley and Kikuchi, 'A History of the Japanese People'.

Some Important Dates.

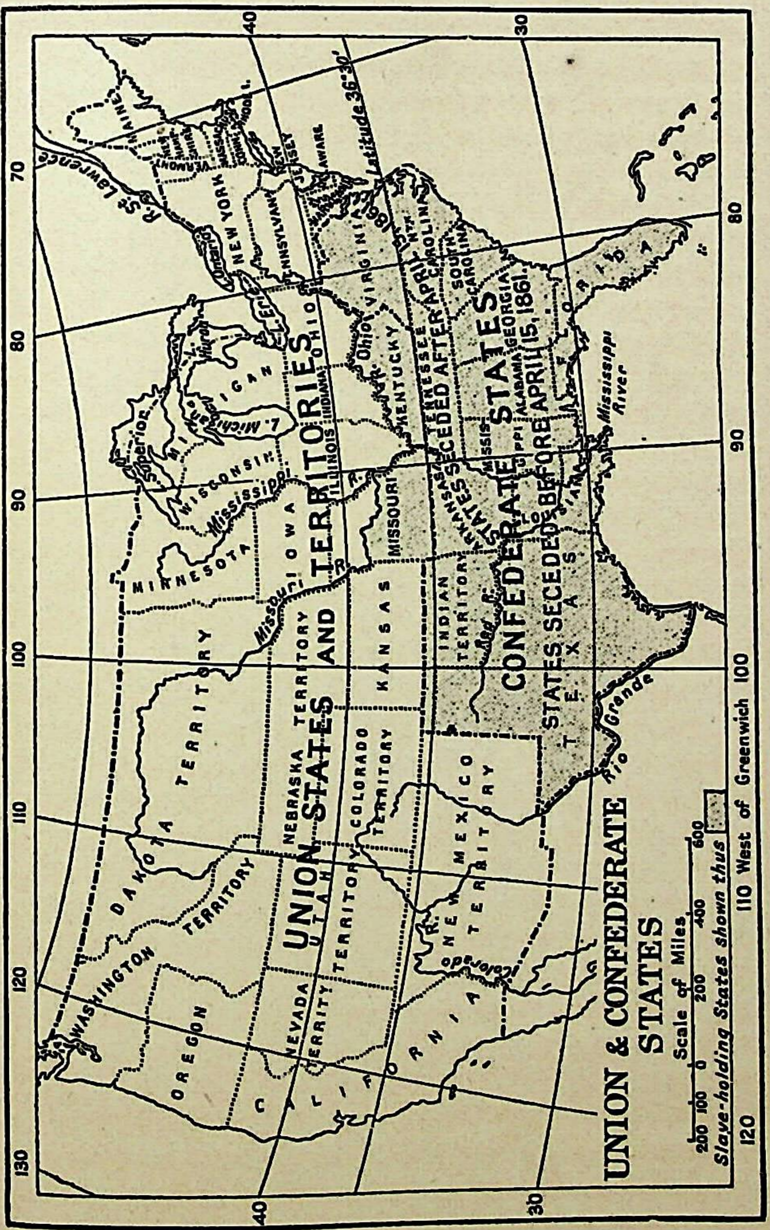
1839–1842. 'Opium war' of Britain against China.
1842. British given island of Hongkong.
1853. Japan forced to open the country by an American warship.
1867. Restoration to power of the Japanese Mikado. Accession of Mutsuhito to throne of Japan.
1894. War between China and Japan; defeat of former.
1894–1900. Rapid extension of European interference in China.
1900. Boxer movement in China suppressed by foreign armies.
1902. Alliance between Great Britain and Japan.
1904–1905. Russia defeated by Japan.
1911. Revolution in China; Manchu dynasty driven out.
1925. Death of Sun-yat-sen.
1927. Rise of Chiang Kai-shek.
1931. Invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

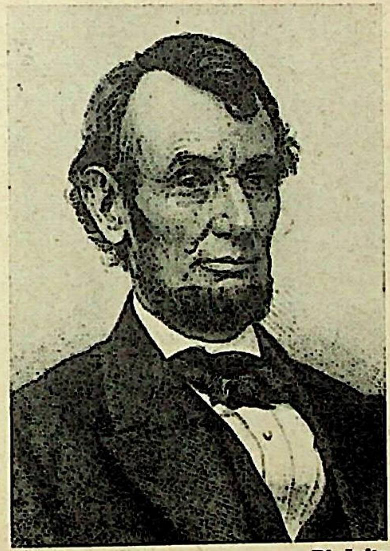
Federation of the thirteen colonies. The British colonies in North America which declared themselves independent on July 4th, 1776, won their freedom from the rule of George III by seven years of determined fighting with the aid of several European countries, notably France. No one could then have imagined that these colonies would unite to form a country which, in less than a century and a half, became the richest and most powerful country in the world. In 1783, when Britain recognised their independence by a treaty, the only bond which held them together was 'Congress', a representative assembly which had met solely for the purpose of conducting the campaign for freedom: it had no powers over the states which were represented in it. Each of these states was jealous for its own freedom, and quarrels broke out between them: they even put import duties on each other's goods. Moreover, there was a real difference in character between the Northern and Southern states. In the north were farmers and townsmen, working hard on their lands and at their various trades; few of them were at all wealthy. In the south were many prosperous planters, cultivating large crops of tobacco, cotton, and sugar by means of slave labour. This was performed by African negroes, who were captured and brought to America in large numbers to work on the plantations.

It speedily became clear to the leading men of all these states that the best way towards future progress


UNION & CONFEDERATE STATES
Scale of Miles
200 100 0 200 400 600
Slave-holding States shown thus
110 West of Greenwich
UNION STATES AND TERRITORIES
CONFEDERATE STATES
STATES SECEDED BEFORE APRIL 15, 1861.
STATES SECEDED AFTER APRIL 15, 1861.
Latitude 36°30'
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA TERRITORY
UTAH TERRITORY
DAKOTA TERRITORY
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
COLORADO TERRITORY
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
INDIAN TERRITORY
MINNESOTA
IOWA
KANSAS
MISSOURI
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
VIRGINIA
W. VA.
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
MAINE
NEW HAMPSHIRE
VERMONT
MASSACHUSETTS
CONN.
RHODE I.
N. CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA
ARKANSAS
TEXAS
FLORIDA
Mississippi River
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Red R.
Rio Grande
Colorado R.
R. St. Lawrence
L. Superior
L. Michigan
Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
40
30
70
80
90
100
110
120
130

was to unite with each other in some form of organised community; otherwise their weak and divided condition might invite interference from European countries. In 1787 an assembly met at Philadelphia to put this idea into practice. A document was drawn up laying down the terms on which they agreed to unite. This document is the famous American Constitution. The form of government was *federal*; each state was to keep most of its sovereign powers, but in certain stated matters a central government was to have authority over all of them. There was to be a President, in whose hands many powers were placed (including the appointment of ministers), a Supreme Court of Justice, and a law-making assembly consisting of two houses—an upper house, the Senate, and a lower, the House of Representatives. In the Senate each state was to have two members, and to this house great power was given; in the lower house, representation was to be according to population. This federal system was a new political experiment, which was later on followed in many parts of the world, for instance, in the German Empire, Canada and Australia. The first man chosen to exercise the wide powers of President was the famous General, George Washington, who had led to victory the armies of the revolted colonies. Never perhaps has so great a man had so little ambition for self-advancement. He steered the difficult course of the new republic for its first eight years with remarkable success, ably assisted by his friend Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury.

War with Britain. Very soon arose a situation of the utmost delicacy. The Revolution in France had broken out, and that country had become involved in wars with other European countries, Britain included. Many Americans, full of sympathetic enthusiasm, wished to declare war in aid of the ally who had so powerfully aided them to gain their freedom. But Washington saw that a period of peace was necessary; he steadfastly kept his country neutral, in spite of popular feeling, which led to bitter attacks on him. American sea-borne trade was badly affected, and both France and Britain seized American ships trading with each other's enemy, so that the United States were frequently on the brink of declaring war against one or the other. Finally, in 1812, they made war on Britain, on account of the close blockade of European ports enforced by the British, and the seizure on American ships of sailors who had deserted from the British navy. The Americans had some success at first



Rischgitz

Abraham Lincoln

in several naval actions between single ships, until the celebrated duel between the American *Chesapeake* and the British *Shannon*. They also invaded Canada. But the great strength of the British at sea, and the sturdy defence of Canada by local forces until the arrival of a British army, were turning the tide of success against the Americans, when, fortunately, terms of peace were arranged in 1815. Since this time there has been no war between Britain and the United States; all disputes have been settled by peaceful methods, as is right and proper. From the American point of view the really important result of the Napoleonic war period was the purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803. This meant that a great tract of country from the mouth of the mighty river Mississippi northwards, 800,000 square miles in extent, was secured for the United States, giving immense possibilities of westward expansion across the continent, as may be clearly seen from a glance at the map.

It is interesting to note that in 1818 the United States ran up their new flag, the 'Stars and Stripes'. This flag is regarded by all patriotic Americans with great reverence; they affectionately call it 'Old Glory', and feel for it something of the same kind of loyalty as the British feel for their King or Queen.

The Monroe Doctrine. In 1822 an event of great importance took place on the American continent. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South and Central America rebelled, and declared themselves free and independent states. Monroe, the President of the United States, with the backing of the British government, at once recognised these new states, and furthermore declared that strong objection would be taken by his country to any future attempt by any European power 'to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere'. This is the celebrated 'Monroe Doctrine'; at the time it meant 'Hands off America', but since then it has come to mean that no country except the United States is to interfere with the 'Latin republics' of the American continent.

The early development of the United States. The remarkable energy of the Americans was now turned to westward expansion, of which something will be said later. As far as the North was concerned, the growing manufacturing industries of the seaboard states were guarded by a high tariff; while the great planting industries of the Southern states grew at a great pace. Of the latter the most important industry was cotton growing. In 1793 an instrument called the 'cotton gin' was invented, to separate the cotton fibre from the seeds. This vastly increased the export of raw cotton; much of this cotton went to Lancashire in England, which became the greatest centre of cotton manufacture in the world. Now this increase meant a great demand for plantation labour; therefore slavery, which had been tending to die out, became of renewed importance; for the only labour force available, and capable of working in the cotton fields, consisted of negro slaves, living in America. The importation of slaves from Africa was forbidden in 1808, though an illicit trade in this human commodity continued for some years after, but the negroes dwelling in America had increased rapidly enough to provide the necessary labour. These slaves were usually, but unfortunately not always, well treated.

North, South and West. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century we have three great divisions of the United

States, each with different interests—the North, the South, and the West. The Northern states were rapidly increasing in wealth and in population. Thousands of emigrants from Europe, mainly from England, Scotland, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Germany, flocked across the Atlantic. They settled down in the cities, and on the lands left vacated by the Americans themselves, who had quitted their farms to find new fortunes farther west. In these Northern states the Industrial Revolution was far advanced, and great factories were arising, their products protected from foreign competition by high import duties (tariffs). In the Southern states lived the wealthy planter aristocracy, a certain number of 'poor whites', and a large negro slave population. These planters have been described as 'men on horseback, accustomed to command'. They disliked the high tariffs and also disliked the anti-slavery sentiment which was strong among the democratic communities of the North. They began to feel that their real interests differed so much from those of the North that it might be better if they parted from the other states of the union: at all events, they were fully determined to let nothing hinder their freedom to do as they liked in their own states. The most interesting, however, of the three divisions was the West, where a remarkable expansion was taking place. Pioneers were clearing the forests, hunting wild beasts, and driving before them the wild Red Indians, who were neither numerous enough nor well enough armed to offer a sufficiently effective resistance. These pioneers were usually rough men, living hard and adventurous lives of continuous conflict, but they possessed great endurance and many fine qualities. As they made their way westwards, there followed behind them settlers, taking up land for farms, and building roads and townships. The discovery of gold in California, in 1848, led to the first of the 'gold rushes'; thousands of men rushed to California from all parts of the world, hoping to 'get-rich-quick'. Other gold rushes followed later on, of which the most famous is the great rush to Alaska in the Far North. This vast territory was bought from Russia in 1867, but gold and other precious and valuable metals were not discovered there till nearly the end of the century. New states were carved out of the newly settled areas and added to the Union: some were acquired by force from Mexico, some by agreement with Britain, but the greatest number by the filling up of the 'Middle West' behind the pioneers. The West had already become an all-important factor in the development of the United States, when the difficulties between North and South led to the outbreak of the greatest civil war in history.

The American Civil War. During the ten years from 1850 to 1860 the slavery question became acute. There was in the North a strong movement in favour of complete abolition. In 1852 Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe published the famous and moving story entitled 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', showing the miseries which could be inflicted on negro slaves: this book had an enormous sale and a great influence. On the other hand, the Southern states believed that their prosperity depended entirely on slave labour, and announced that they would rather 'secede' from the Union than consent to the abolition of slavery; they also resented the determination of the Northern states that no slavery should be introduced into the newly-created states of the West if they could help it. They came to fear that the great growth of population in the North, and the increase in the number of new states in the West, would some day cause abolition to be forced upon them. They therefore declared their right to secede whenever they desired. In 1859 a man named John Brown seized some arms and tried to raise a rebellion of slaves; he was hanged, but his action was like a trumpet-call to the abolitionists, and his name is enshrined for ever in a famous marching song:

> John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
> But his soul goes marching on.

In 1860 took place a Presidential election, and a Westerner named Abraham Lincoln was chosen. The story of his rise to power and greatness is well worthy of study. Although Lincoln himself had no intention of forcing abolition upon the South, yet his election was the signal for the Southern states to proclaim a breach with the Union. The six cotton-growing states of the extreme south were the first to do this. Now Lincoln, though not well-educated, was a very great and clear-sighted man. He determined at all costs to save the Union, and utterly denied this 'right of secession'; therefore he called for volunteers to prevent it by armed force. This brought four other slave-owning states, including the great state of Virginia, to join the former six, and the bitter civil war began. At first the 'Confederacy', as the alliance of Southern states called itself, was successful; but the West joined in on the side of the North, and by superiority of numbers, wealth, and military organisation, bore down the stubborn resistance of the South. The Northern navy established a strict blockade of the cotton-exporting ports, and armies were raised amounting to nearly half a million men. By 1865 the Southern leaders had to give way. Already in 1862 Lincoln had proclaimed the emancipation of all slaves, and to this they had to consent, as well as to the denial of the right to secede. Five days after the conclusion of the peace Lincoln was assassinated. He had done marvellous work, holding together his own side, taking the great decision as to abolition, and saving the Union. His fixed determination, in his own words, was 'that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth'.

It was unfortunate that Lincoln did not live to 'bind up the nation's wounds'. The victorious side now began to treat the former slave-owners very badly, so that it took many long years before the Southern states became truly reconciled to the Union. Indeed, long before this happened they had sunk to a position of comparative unimportance, for the North and the West were advancing in wealth and numbers by immense strides.

The boundary question. In 1846 a peaceful settlement of the boundary between the United States and Canada was made with the British government. This settlement, known as the Oregon treaty, marks one of the most significant steps towards world peace ever achieved, for along that longest of land frontiers there have never since been any military garrisons stationed for its protection. Disputes there indeed have been between the Commonwealth and the United States, but these have always been satisfactorily settled without any danger of a resort to arms. As long as this happy state of affairs continues between these two great commonwealths, both of which transcend the limits of mere nationalism, so long is the cause of world peace likely to go on being promoted by their example.

Economic development. As the nineteenth century went on, the United States grew enormously in population and in wealth. In the Far West more states were added to the Union: after the end of the century three more were created, bringing the total number up to forty-eight. Railways played a most important part in opening up the fertile wheat-growing plains of the West, and agricultural machinery of all kinds, such as the steam plough and the grain elevator, was universally used. Immigrants continued to pour into the country, especially from Southern and Eastern Europe, while many Chinese and Japanese came into California. These new arrivals were viewed with suspicion and even dislike by those Americans who wished to keep their country mainly Anglo-Saxon: strong restrictions were placed on the entrance of Asians. Great towns, like Chicago and Detroit, sprang up with remarkable speed around the seats of the big industries: indeed, in several branches of industry the United States led the world. Vast fortunes were made by single individuals, and the general rates of wages were higher than in Europe. An elaborate system of tariffs safeguarded the growing industries from foreign competition.

Expansion beyond America. The policy of the United States had always been one of non-interference outside America. But in 1897 the government, realising the importance of its interests in the great Pacific Ocean, took over part of Samoa, and the following year the Hawaiian Islands. In that year, too, a war was undertaken against Spain, and not only was that power finally driven from the islands of the West Indies, but also from her possessions in the Pacific, the Philippine Islands, which were seized by the United States. Their growing power in the Pacific, and the restriction of immigrants from Japan, caused ill-feeling between them and that country. This antagonism grew, and, combined with the aggressive intentions of the Japanese military leaders in the Pacific, produced the crisis which culminated in Japan's attack on the United States in December 1941.

Another enterprise of vast importance was the cutting of a canal across the isthmus of Panama in Central America, thus enabling ships to avoid the long and dangerous passage round South America. The stamping out of disease by the destruction of malarial mosquitoes in this area is one of the great triumphs of science.

The United States and the First World War. When war broke out in Europe in 1914, opinion in the United States, particularly in the West, was strongly in favour of adhering to the old policy of non-intervention. But the attacks made on shipping by the German submarines, resulting in the loss of American lives, combined with the growing belief that the cause of democracy was in danger, persuaded the President, Woodrow Wilson, to join the Allies against Germany. Up to this time the manufacturers of the United States had gained vast profits by supplying war material and other goods to the fighting countries, who also borrowed in America huge sums of money to enable them to bear the terrific expense of war. The United States came into the conflict in 1917, but although their navy was immediately useful, their army, partly trained by Allied officers, could not become effective until the next year, when it proved to be the final factor in the overthrow of the Central Powers. Woodrow Wilson took a great part in settling the terms of peace, and the League of Nations was mainly his idea. However, there was a reaction of opinion in the United States in favour of the old non-intervention policy, and they decided not to join the new peace organisation.

This war undoubtedly had the effect of bringing the United States into 'world-politics', as the most powerful single country in the world. Although after this the United States retired into 'isolationism' for a time, they found it necessary in 1941 once again to take up arms in the cause of freedom, and the full weight of their colossal wealth and power was thrown into the struggle on both sides of the world.

The story of what the United States did during the Second World War and the commanding position that great country had in the world after it came to an end will be told in later chapters of this book.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XVIII

The United States of America form the richest and most powerful country in the world of to-day. This chapter briefly outlines their history from the time of their independence; but beyond this lies their history as British colonies and the early history of Britain itself. The main interest of their story lies in the remarkable westward expansion across the American continent, the great civil war about unity between two groups of states, and the rapid growth of population, wealth, and industry. The institutions of the country are worthy of attention, especially the working out of the 'federal' idea. The civilisation of the United States is important to study, as some observers believe that the whole world is becoming 'Americanised'. In foreign affairs the United States have striven to keep aloof from the politics of the Eastern 'Hemisphere', but have found it increasingly difficult to do so. It should be noted that the civilisation of this country is entirely of European origin, and the same is true of the population, except for the negro element.

Morison's 'Oxford History of the United States' is probably the most useful for non-Americans: he, with Commager, has written a rather shorter book, 'Growth of the American Republic'. The standard work is Channing's 'History of the United States of America'. Conan's 'Industrial History of the United States' deals with an essential element of the subject. Other useful and interesting books are: Pollard, 'Factors in American History', Paxson, 'The American Civil War', and Lord Charnwood, 'Abraham Lincoln'.

Some Important Dates.

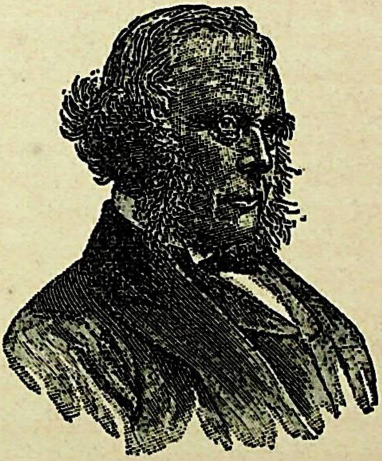
1776. Declaration of Independence.
1783. Independence of U.S.A. recognised by Britain.
1787. American Constitution drawn up.
1812–1813. War with Britain.
1822. Promulgation of Monroe Doctrine.
1846. 'Oregon' boundary settlement with Britain.
1861–1865. Civil War between 'Federal' and 'Confederate' states.
1865. Assassination of Abraham Lincoln.
1867. Purchase of Alaska from Russia.
1898. War with Spain.
1917. U.S.A. joins in the First World War.
1941. U.S.A. joins in the Second World War.

CHAPTER XIX

SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The age of science. In the third chapter of this book we saw how scientific ideas, applied to the making of articles for common use, and to the means of travelling about and of communicating rapidly with people at a distance, brought about many great changes. All through the nineteenth century rapid advances were made in scientific knowledge. The word 'science' really means 'knowledge', but it is generally used to signify those branches of knowledge which are based on mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, and biology (the study of things which have *life*). In every country of Europe, in the United States of America, and in Japan, scientists of great brain-power made important discoveries, and co-operated generously with each other in advancing knowledge. There should be no national feeling in science, which can be described, at its best, as truly international and co-operative, and which can and often does show the real unity of the human race at its best. Many of these discoveries have been used to improve human welfare, as in the matters of medicine, sanitation, and pure food and water; and every year further improvements are being made. Even now scientific men tell us that only a little has yet been discovered, that there are many more important things to be found out, and that countless further improvements will be made in human welfare by means of them.

Medicine and hygiene. Medicine is the study and practice of curing diseases, and hygiene—the science of health—is that of preventing them. It is impossible to recount the numbers of great discoveries made in these matters. Among the most important are those associated with the names of Koch, Pasteur, Lister and Simpson. Koch, a German, and Pasteur, a French scientist, discovered that disease is usually caused by the presence in the human body of certain infinitely small living things known as 'germs', or more properly as 'bacteria'. Lister, an English doctor living in Scotland, applied this discovery to surgical operations, and by keeping everything concerned in the operation clean by means of disinfectants which kill the harmful germs, saved many lives; this is known as 'antiseptic surgery'. Simpson, an English doctor, discovered the use of chloroform, which enables the patient undergoing an operation to be rendered senseless while the cutting is going on, and he thus feels no pain;



Lord Lister

chloroform is called an 'anæsthetic'. Since then other and better anæsthetics have been discovered. Perhaps the most important discoveries since that of anæsthetics have been those of radium and of X-rays, which have already been of great use in medicine, and which are going to be of even greater value. Doctors and other men of science are ceaselessly engaged in a warfare against disease, and in recent times have been directing their efforts especially against the three terrible illnesses of consumption, cancer, and malaria. Though much work remains to be done on them, particularly in the case of the first two, scientists have strong hopes that cures will be found for all of them, and that they may, if not quite stamped out, be made far less deadly. Even better are the measures taken for preventing disease; constant efforts are being made in every country where the government is in the hands of civilised people to ensure that men and women live, and that children are brought up, in as healthy surroundings as possible. Advice is published as to the keeping pure of food and water, the care of infants (whose hold on life is so very slight), the prevention of mosquitoes, carriers of the malaria and other germs, from breeding, and a host of other health precautions. It is very necessary that everyone should be taught proper care and proper behaviour in this matter of hygiene, that governments should have in their service experts to advise them on these points, and that they should make and efficiently carry out laws to prevent people from doing themselves and each other harm by the neglect of proper precautions. It is the duty of every man, woman, and child to co-operate as fully as possible with the government in these matters. Two things are necessary, proper knowledge and constant effort.

Other scientific discoveries. The great object of science is to find out the true nature and functions of everything known by the human brain to exist. Scientific discoveries have been made which enable mankind to know more about the nature and form of the universe and the movements of the heavenly bodies—astronomy and astrophysics; the composition of the earth's surface and interior—geology; the history and behaviour of plants and animals—botany and zoology; the composition and behaviour of animate and inanimate matter—chemistry; the action of natural forces—physics; human behaviour—psychology; the history and development of the races of mankind—anthropology and ethnology; and other branches of scientific knowledge. All these discoveries have immensely increased the sum of human knowledge, but most of them are too technical to be described here. Many of them have been turned to practical uses, increasing the comfort and security of mankind; to mention a few examples, agricultural chemistry has enabled farmers to understand how to make their lands grow more crops, by means of scientific manuring; the great force of electricity has been harnessed for all kinds of useful purposes; refrigeration has enabled food-stuffs to be carried for great distances and kept from perishing until required for use; some of the many plant pests have been successfully combated; buildings of vast size and strength can be constructed out of ferro-concrete, valuable metals hitherto unknown have been used in making machinery of marvellous accuracy—there is no end to the number of improvements due to greater scientific knowledge.

Humanitarian effort and its results. During the past century and a half many great movements have arisen whose object has been the betterment of mankind. People are far less indifferent than they were to the ills and discomforts suffered by their fellow creatures. Kindly men and women have made efforts to lessen human misery, and have strongly urged their governments to make similar efforts on a great scale. Early in the last century it was generally considered that individual people ought to make these efforts for themselves; it was held that any government interference in social and economic affairs must necessarily do more harm than good. It was thought that the action of governments ought to be confined to the maintenance of law and order, defence against outside enemies, and the raising of money to pay for these actions; and that little more should lie within their capacity. This set of notions has almost disappeared, and some people nowadays would have governments enforce all kinds of regulations for human welfare: sometimes they go too far in this, for individual effort is necessary, and people must rely on themselves and on their own efforts in most matters, instead of expecting everything to be done for them. However, much has been done, though much still remains to be done, to bring about better and healthier conditions of life.

The lead in humanitarian endeavour has been taken by the advanced industrial countries of the West. Their first task was to remedy as many as possible of the bad conditions under which the working classes living in the slums of great factory towns had to exist. Child labour has gradually died out, and the factories have been made safer and healthier. Hours of labour have been limited, so that the workers can enjoy every day some hours of fresh air and leisure. Great efforts have been made to raise wages so that no worker need know real poverty. Compensation is given to those who have met with accidents during their work, and great national systems of insurance have been started so as to enable those who fall sick or who lose their employments to live until they can find work again. Hospitals are maintained for the free treatment of sick persons. Small pensions are given to those old people who would otherwise be without the money to keep themselves alive. Relief in money, or board, lodging, and clothing in public institutions is available for those who cannot maintain themselves; the scheme must give sufficient help to those in genuine need, but care must be taken to prevent lazy people from taking advantage of it. 'Clinics' have been established to treat particular diseases, and to advise mothers about the proper bringing up of children. Public parks, that is, open spaces in the middle or round the edges of cities and towns, have been set aside for people to rest in or to amuse themselves with healthy sports and games: nowadays they usually contain special playgrounds for children. Insanitary houses are destroyed, and new ones built on as healthy a model as possible. Inspectors have been appointed to see that places where food is prepared and eaten are kept sanitary, and that such food is pure in quality; for it has been discovered that many diseases are caused by eating impure food. Even more important is the supply of pure water and milk: towns and districts usually provide their own water supply, over which a most careful watch is kept: the supply of pure milk is a great difficulty, as the cows which furnish it must be kept clean and healthy, a matter over which some keepers of farms and dairies have not always been sufficiently particular.

The above are only some of the humane improvements which have taken place in these countries. Some of them are being introduced into poorer or less civilised countries: but it is important to remember that they all cost a great amount of money, and that they cannot be made unless the people of a country work hard and produce enough to make such money available for these 'social services'. This helps to explain why they have not made more progress in all countries.

Education. The word 'education' is used as a rule to mean what is learned at school. But it means far more than this; it includes everything that is learned by a person not only at school, but in universities, in technical schools, and in colleges for special purposes such as medicine, law, agriculture, art and music. It includes also knowledge acquired by learning a trade or occupation, by reading books and newspapers, and by intercourse with fellow beings. It is clear, then, that everyone receives some kind of education: but it is impossible to get very far with it unless a child is taught to read, to write, and to use his or her brains, that is, to *think*: in addition to this, arithmetic, the handling of figures, has to be acquired. On this basis, much more can be taught and learned. During the nineteenth century people came to understand that this basis of education ought to be possessed by everyone, and not, as in earlier times, by a few people only. In most countries the government has been made responsible for seeing that as many children as possible receive education up to a certain age. Those who seem to be good at their lessons continue at school till a later age, and, after leaving, some go on to the higher branches of learning, as taught in universities and in colleges for 'higher education' in some particular subject. When boys or girls leave school, or when young men or young women finish their chosen courses of higher education, their minds are trained to go on with their further education for themselves, to learn the details of their occupation in life, and to become good citizens of their country. Whatever they are going to be, workers on the land or in factories, doctors, government servants, housewives, clerks, or any of the other occupations of life, education is going to be useful to them. Now in every country and in every district the people have their own conditions of life and their own peculiarities. During the nineteenth century this simple fact was not well understood. The leaders of a country tried to provide education of some kind for everybody: this universal education is not established everywhere by any means, mainly because the provision of schools and teachers and of school materials costs a great amount of money; but the duty of providing schools for all children is now generally admitted by all governments. It is nowadays understood that a great difficulty is to provide the right kind of education for particular places, and all over the world different systems are being worked out. When all people become properly educated, they will have learned how necessary it is to co-operate with the governments of their country and their district in providing the 'social services' mentioned in the last paragraph, and to work hard so as to make their country prosperous enough to afford them.

Education teaches people not only to use their brains, but also to make a proper use of their bodies, and to lead better and more enjoyable lives. The idea of 'a healthy mind in a healthy body' is very prominent nowadays. Much health and enjoyment are obtained to-day from the playing of games; organised team games have long been played in Britain, and now the other nations of the world are coming to realise their value and to give them great importance. The expression 'Play the game' has much in it that leads to unselfishness and other qualities which show human nature at its best.

Although much has been done to promote education and social welfare, there remain even in the most wealthy and civilised countries many appalling evils. These can only be overcome by the common and rightly directed efforts of everyone, men, women, and children. Unless such efforts are universal, and unless the idea that such matters are the concern only of the leaders of the country and of governments is realised to be a foolish error, the evils will continue, and perhaps worse will befall.

The changing position of women. One of the most striking changes noticeable in recent years is that which has come about in the position of the female sex; this has been particularly noticeable in most countries since the First World War. Laws have been altered to bring the legal position of women from inferiority to equality with men. In a few countries, before that war, women had been given political equality, that is, the power of voting in elections and of becoming members of their country's legislature and government; and in many others there was a strong 'women's movement' struggling to secure these rights. After the war this movement achieved general success, and in most countries women speedily obtained these rights: the most notable exceptions were France and Italy. In economic and social affairs, too, women are advancing towards equality. Most professions and occupations have been opened to them, and in some countries we find female lawyers and even Cabinet ministers. In movements for social reform women are specially prominent; for instance, the women's vote in the United States of America was largely responsible for the establishment of Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. In sport, too, they have shown great activity, and have their own events at the Olympic Games; in 1930 a young English woman, named Amy Johnson, created a great sensation by accomplishing alone the difficult and dangerous flight from England to Australia in her own aeroplane. The education of girls is being regarded as of equal importance with that of boys. Even in the East, where the position of women has always been regarded as one of definite inferiority to men, changes are coming to pass. Women in India and other Asian countries have been given votes on the same terms as men: Asian girls compete successfully at the women's Olympic Games; Chinese women took a prominent part in the defence of their country against the Japanese invaders. In India and China increased attention is being paid to female education.

The Second World War saw women perform a variety of tasks previously carried out by men only; a few even served as soldiers and fought bravely. The effects of these great changes in the position of women are bound to be immense; it is not yet possible to estimate them, but the influence of women in national and world affairs even in the near future is bound to be very considerable. Eastern women are playing an increasing part in politics, and a few of them have become Members of Parliament; there is a big movement among the leaders of women in the East to promote social welfare, and in all the world conferences directed to this excellent object Asian women are to be found playing their part.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XIX

Two important features of modern history are brought out by this chapter—the amazing advance of scientific knowledge, and the greater interest taken by mankind in the welfare of the human race. To the latter end the former has made great contributions, especially in the prevention and cure of disease. It is particularly to be noted that both these features are of a *universal* type, and that they have little to do with the political boundaries of states; though it is necessary to understand that government action in enforcing precautions for maintaining health is of the utmost importance. Anyone who reads the social history of earlier centuries must be struck by the difference in the attitude of peoples and governments alike to the well-being of the poorer classes from that shown at the present day. It is generally realised that the primary need of civilisation is wide-spread education: efforts are being made in every continent to see that children shall not grow up without knowledge. In this way only can civilisation be made universal, and there is no doubt that an educated world such as may exist by the end of the present century will be a very different place from the world as it has existed at any previous period of history. At the end of the chapter attention is called to the great change which is taking place in the position of women, who, after centuries of inferiority to men, are all over the world attaining to a position of equality.

It is impossible to give any leading dates which would be of much assistance in studying this subject. It is also very difficult to specify books of a general character. Marvin's 'Century of Hope' may be useful. Chapters 23 and 24 of the Cambridge Modern History, volume 12, on 'Social Movements' and on 'The Scientific Age', are worthy of close study. There is also a book by Wallace and others, called 'Progress of the Century', which sums up the scientific progress of the age. Marvin has written a book named 'Science and Civilisation', and Dampier-Whetham has written a 'History of Science'. There are many books on Sociology, which forms a great branch of practical study to-day.

CHAPTER XX

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

Europe between 1870 and 1914. We have already noticed, in the earlier chapters of the book, the way in which the various countries of Europe were deeply interested in the complicated situation caused by the decay of Turkish power—the Near Eastern question, as it was called. We have also seen that some of them had acquired large territories in various parts of the world. In both these matters their interests clashed: and the consequence of this clashing was often bad feeling between the different governments. There was also the situation caused by the Franco-German war: the French did not forgive the Germans for tearing from them the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, while the Germans, for their part, resented the fact that they had come so late into the field of colonial expansion, and were jealous of the French colonies, and even more of the British. In these ways many difficult international problems arose. We must try to understand them, in order to see why and how they led to two great catastrophes—the First and Second World Wars. Most European statesmen, and nearly all the peoples, desired peace; but they were always prepared to go to war as a last resort. Some leaders seemed to be willing, and a few even anxious, to plunge their countries into war. The old system of keeping peace by a system of competing alliances, known as 'The Balance of Power', was unstable and bound to break down if in any country the military party got control. This happened before

1914 and again before the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Though war was acknowledged to be an evil thing in itself, and though even the victor never achieved all that he had hoped for, it remained possible for ambitious men to lure a country, by false hopes of gain or glory, into following an aggressive policy which could have only one outcome.

Germany after 1870. The main concern of the clever statesman, Bismarck, was to give the new German Empire time to settle down into its new system of federal unity. To his mind, the best way of doing this was to establish an understanding with the autocratic states of Russia and Austria-Hungary, and to keep France isolated from any chance of making alliances with either of these states, so that no attempt could be made to win back the lost provinces. Friendship with Austria-Hungary was soon established; but Russia was more difficult. When in 1875 Bismarck threatened France he was opposed by Russia, who was further displeased by the attitude he took up at the Congress of Berlin (*see* Chapter XII). In 1879 he arranged a definite alliance with Austria-Hungary, and in 1881 he managed to renew his old understanding with Russia, in which Austria-Hungary was included. This understanding was therefore known as the League of the Three Emperors. But as Russia and Austria-Hungary could never really agree over the Balkan question, this league did not last long; the trouble was that whereas Russia was the great Slavonic nation, Austria-Hungary was the state which most disliked and feared any increase in the strength of the Slavonic races.

The new constitution of Germany was drawn up so as to give most of the power to the rulers of Prussia. The

Prussian King was German Emperor, and Bismarck was his Imperial Chancellor. Complete control of the military forces, and practically all control of foreign policy, were left in the hands of these two, who were heartily supported by the heads of the military party; consequently the chief Prussian generals always exercised great influence on the German government. However, while Bismarck remained in power, he kept supreme control in his own hands, so that Germany in his time had been called 'the firm of Bismarck and Co'. The Reichstag (the popular assembly) had power over naval and colonial affairs, it is true, but in 1870 these affairs were unimportant; it had also the power of refusing to grant money for extra expenditure on the army, but owing to its lack of unity, and the influence of Prussia, such refusals were very rarely successful.

The expansion of Germany. Up to 1884 Bismarck paid very little attention to the possibility of strengthening the German Navy or of securing overseas colonies. But, as we have seen, the Germans were by this time beginning to have colonial ambitions; this meant that a powerful navy must be built to protect the new colonies. We shall see how the building of this navy affected the relations of Germany and Britain.

Another very noticeable feature of the German Empire was the remarkable growth of commerce and industry. With the direct help of their government, the Germans brought their zeal for hard work and their wonderful powers of organisation to bear on the effort to increase their trade and their manufactures, with such success that goods marked 'Made in Germany' were soon to be found in all the markets of the world. Thus the German Empire rose to be the wealthiest of all countries except Britain and the United States of America, with which countries she seemed to be rapidly catching up in the race for industrial supremacy.

The Balance of Power. In 1882 Italy joined Germany and Austria-Hungary in a defensive alliance which came to be known as 'The Triple Alliance'; the Italians were very angry with France for seizing Tunis, in North Africa, which they had wanted for themselves. The terms of this alliance were that if any two other countries attacked any one of the three allies, the other two allies would make war on the aggressors; but if any one of the three declared war against any state, there was no obligation on either of the others to assist. If France, however, attacked either Germany or Italy, the others would assist. This alliance drove France and Russia to see that it was aimed at them, and that their interests were therefore similar: hence between 1891 and 1895 negotiations were opened between them which resulted in a close alliance.

In 1888 the young Hohenzollern prince Wilhelm came to the thrones of Prussia and Germany, and his public speeches at once showed him determined to increase the military and naval strength of his empire. He made up his mind to rule for himself, and after two years he got rid of the great Bismarck. In many ways this Kaiser (i.e. Emperor), Wilhelm II, continued Bismarck's policy, but neither he nor any of his advisers had anything approaching the skill of that great statesman. Inside the German Empire the small amount of real power exercised by the people caused discontent; so did the vast and uncontrolled expenditure on the army: yet, at the same time, there was a certain pride in the newly won greatness of Germany, and an ambition to see this greatness increased. Such feelings as the latter were diligently fostered by the government, which strove to spread them by having the children in the schools and the students in the universities taught violent patriotism, especially

[Photo: T. H. Voigt, Hamburg

Kaiser Wilhelm II

during the history lessons and lectures. Societies like the German Navy League were founded for the same purpose. Thus all over Germany 'propaganda', that is a deliberately thought-out system of teaching certain ideas, was directed to this purpose of promoting national pride and loyalty to the Kaiser, while hostile criticism against the government, and the advocacy of contrary doctrines such as International Socialism, were contested fiercely and at times even repressed. The same kind of education, though on not so intense a scale, was to be found in France and other European countries.

Germany and Britain. We see then that there were two alliances really directed against each other. Of the greater European states, only Britain stood outside them; her leaders did not wish to concern themselves more than necessary with European affairs. This policy they called 'splendid isolation'. But while it was possible to keep out of affairs on the continent of Europe itself, it had to be remembered that European influence was now world-wide, and that in all kinds of ways British interests were concerned on the continents of Asia and Africa, and in the South Seas, with those of other European states. Thus, when the Sudan was reconquered, there was a dispute with France. Again, when there was trouble between Britain and the Dutch republics in South Africa, several European states, particularly Germany, showed marked preference for the Boers, both at the time of the Jameson raid and during the South African War of 1899–1902. British statesmen therefore determined to come out of their 'splendid isolation', and in 1902 they made an alliance with the rising power of Japan. They had approached both Russia and Germany earlier, but in neither case could terms of alliance be arranged. Now they saw that France was the best possible friend. The Germans had embarked on a plan of rapidly increasing their navy, and of bringing it to a high state of efficiency; the British leaders asked themselves the question: 'Against whom is this navy to be directed?' and could only come to the conclusion that it was against their country. Therefore they settled a number of long-standing difficulties with France, and in 1904 established with that country the '*Entente Cordiale*', that is, a state of general friendliness though not of definite alliance. About the same time they strengthened their fleet in the North Sea; this only served to make the Germans uneasy.

The Armed Camp. It is not really true to say that any one country, or indeed either of the allied groups of countries, was wholly responsible for the bad feeling which was in the end to lead to war. Europe could be compared to a powder magazine, which would explode if only a few sparks reached it. It is clear that all the countries had their grievances. Germany and Austria-Hungary were more openly aggressive than the others. Germany wanted 'a place in the sun', that is to say, room outside Germany itself for surplus population to emigrate to, and yet remain under the German flag, as well as parts of the world where the raw materials of manufacture might be produced. Austria-Hungary, supported by Germany, wanted to increase her territory at the expense of the Balkan states. Yet both of them feared Russia. France, or, more accurately, a section of the French people, was willing to go to war in order to recover Alsace and Lorraine. Britain was getting more and more nervous of the German fleet and of German colonial ambitions, but on the whole was more peacefully inclined than the others: but Britain had little or nothing to gain by going to war. There was a strong war-party in Russia, anxious to support the Balkan Slavs against Austria-Hungary and Germany, and to bolster up the failing fortunes of the Czar's government by military success; this party must take at least as large a share of the blame as anyone. The truth of the matter is that the system was all wrong: there was nothing to limit national pride and national jealousy, nor was there any widespread feeling that war was a monstrous and horrible thing. Therefore the nations on the continent of Europe trained all their young men in the art of fighting, and their military leaders made plans for the invasion of each other's territory. When reductions of military and naval forces were proposed, obstruction and open opposition spoiled the schemes. Europe therefore remained 'an armed camp', in which jealousy and bad feeling were growing more and more intense. Many people in all countries strove to preserve peace, but they were either too half-hearted, or else too extreme, and very little notice was taken of them. It was not yet fully realised what modern war would mean to every household and individual in the countries concerned.

The Triple Entente. During the nineteenth century British statesmen had always been nervous about the aggressive intentions of Russia. But by the beginning of the present century it seemed to them that Germany was a greater danger: and when, in 1907, they met Russian representatives to discuss the question of Persia, they began to establish an understanding which soon ripened into a friendship of much the same kind as the Anglo-French '*Entente Cordiale*'. Thus arose a '*Triple Entente*' between Britain, France, and Russia; not that Britain actually joined the alliance of the other two, but that she recognised her aims as being more sympathetic with those of this Dual Alliance than with those of the Triple Alliance. It also meant that any aggressive act by Germany would throw Britain into the arms of France and Russia. British statesmen mostly considered that their country, by forming this *Triple Entente*, would be able to prevent any such aggressive acts by preserving the 'Balance of Power'. We shall see in the next chapter that events were to prove them mistaken.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XX

This chapter and the next deal with the situation created in Europe by the establishment of the two new national states of Germany and Italy. This, of course, marked the final break-up of the Vienna settlement: owing to the strength of the national feelings aroused, the problem of Europe came to be whether a satisfactory adjustment of the problems outstanding between the various countries could be made without recourse to war on a large scale. The period between 1870 and the end of the century was on the whole one of peace, but the 'equilibrium' reached was 'unstable'—that is, it became obvious that it would not take very much to plunge several of the European countries into war. Strong forces were working for universal peace, but they were not nearly as strong as national fears and jealousies. The fact that Africa was partitioned among the countries of Europe without any fighting seemed hopeful for peace; but early in the present century Europe became divided into two parties, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, and resembled an armed camp, with every country prepared for war at any moment.

The most useful books are by Holland Rose, 'Development of European Nations, 1870–1914', by Mowat, 'The Concert of Europe', by Marriott, 'Europe and Beyond', and by Gooch, 'Modern Europe, 1878–1919'. Holland Rose's 'Origin of the War' is useful, though, being written in 1914, it is rather lacking in balance. Many books have been written to prove the guilt or innocence of one country or another in bringing on the war of 1914, and later events have tended to discredit Germany. Gooch's 'Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy' throws some light on the subject, and particularly emphasises the difficulty of obtaining proper documents for the solution of the many difficulties before the student of this period.

Some Important Dates.

1879. Alliance between the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.
1882. Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy.
1888. Accession of Wilhelm II to the imperial throne of Germany.
1895. Definite alliance between France and Russia.
1902. Alliance between Britain and Japan.
1904. 'Entente Cordiale' between France and Britain.
1908. 'Entente' between Britain and Russia.

CHAPTER XXI

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Efforts for world peace. In the last chapter we saw how the principal European countries were so nervous of each other, and so carefully prepared for war, that at any moment a general flare-up might take place. It must not be imagined, however, that the agencies working for peace were quite ineffective, or that conditions were the same as they had been in the eighteenth century. The notion of a 'Concert of Europe', as it came into existence after the Napoleonic wars, still survived, and several times during the nineteenth century disputes were settled by conferences rather than by war; representatives of the various 'powers' (the word usually used to describe the countries which took part in such meetings) would come together in order to see if they could not settle these disputes by discussion instead of by force. Furthermore, in 1899, on the suggestion of the Czar of Russia, a Peace Conference was held at The Hague in Holland to see if some permanent methods of bringing about this end could not be devised. An Arbitration Tribunal was set up, to which countries might bring their quarrels for settlement by an impartial body chosen for the purpose; but unfortunately it was not very effective (except in settling minor disputes). A second 'Hague Conference' met in 1907, but produced no further definite results: however, special treaties were made, notably those by the United States of America with both France and Britain, which laid down that these countries would submit all quarrels between them to such impartial bodies—a real advance in the direction of world peace, but one which did not go very far.

Algeciras and Agadir. It will be remembered that France had been for a long time in possession of Algeria, on the north coast of Africa. The neighbouring country of Morocco was always in a disturbed condition, and French statesmen wished to extend the influence of their country over that region, partly to ensure the good order of their own colony of Algeria. Spain, too, had designs on Morocco. But Germany was determined to thwart French schemes in this direction, and demanded a conference on the subject, the Kaiser declaring that he regarded Morocco as a free and independent state. This conference met in 1906 at Algeciras and the Germans carried their point successfully. But although an agreement was made, the dangerous state of Europe, on the brink of a great struggle between two competing groups, was clear to thoughtful observers.

In 1908 arose another 'crisis', over the Balkan question, which will be considered a little later. Meanwhile, the internal disorder in Morocco became worse, so that in 1911 the French were asked by the Sultan of that country to aid him against his rebellious tribesmen. On hearing this, the Germans sent a gunboat to Agadir, a Moroccan port, declaring that German subjects and German interests in Morocco were in danger. This provoked another crisis, as it was a direct breach of the agreement which had been reached at Algeciras in 1906. However, on this occasion Britain gave France direct support, and Germany, after being on the verge of declaring war, sullenly gave way. This crisis did much to make matters worse, and all the larger countries of Europe were busily preparing for a possible outbreak of war at any moment. The next year there were negotiations between Britain and Germany for a settlement of the respective strengths of their navies, but they broke down, leaving British statesmen even more suspicious than before of German naval preparations and intentions. As a result, they made an agreement with the French to leave the conduct of naval affairs in the Mediterranean mainly to the French fleet, while a large part of the British navy was concentrated in the North Sea.

The decaying power of Turkey. In Chapter XII was shown the decay of the Turkish power and the rise of the Balkan nations. As it was in the Balkans that the immediate occasion of the outbreak of war arose, it is necessary to see how they affected the relations of the various European powers. The Austro-Hungarian attitude to the independent Slavonic states of the Balkans has already been mentioned: it was also felt that any increase of their power would cause unrest among those Slavs over whom the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary bore rule. Germany had for a long time been interested in Turkey. This interest was displayed to the world by the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm to Constantinople and Palestine in 1898, when he announced that he would always be the special friend of Islam; as many millions of Muslims lived under British, French, and Russian rule, these countries were naturally rather offended. The Germans had previously succeeded in obtaining more influence in Turkey than was exerted by any other country, and German traders had come thither in great numbers. As a result, a project was made to complete a railway line which should stretch from Scutari (immediately opposite Constantinople) to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, connecting by ferry to Constantinople, which was already in direct touch by rail with Vienna and Berlin. Such a line would pass through territory friendly to Germany all the way, except for that portion which went through Serbia and Bulgaria. These two small countries were nearly always at enmity, and it might be possible to bring one or the other under German influence.

In 1908 the 'Young Turk' revolution broke out, dethroning the Sultan Abdul Hamid, and upsetting for a time the German plans, as its leaders declared that they wished to free themselves from all outside influences. Very soon after this the ruler of Bulgaria, Ferdinand, upset the Treaty of Berlin by proclaiming Bulgaria independent of Turkey; whereupon the Austrian minister for foreign affairs, a determined and unscrupulous man named von Aehrenthal, seized the opportunity to turn the Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a permanent annexation. This caused Russia to attempt interference, without consulting France or Britain. Germany now stepped in, and, as the Kaiser Wilhelm put it, 'stood in shining armour at a grave moment' at the side of her ally. Russia was obliged to give way, having no support from her friends, and her leaders determined that they would not again place themselves in a position to receive such a severe humiliation. The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina made Serbia very nervous of further Austrian expansion, and the Serbians tried to do all they could to stir up Slavonic sentiment in the lands ruled by Austria-Hungary. In these lands were no fewer than six million Southern Slavs (Yugo-Slavs, as they were called), who were of almost exactly the same nationality as the Serbians. It became obvious that Serbia was a definite obstacle on the Berlin–Baghdad route, and a real danger to the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

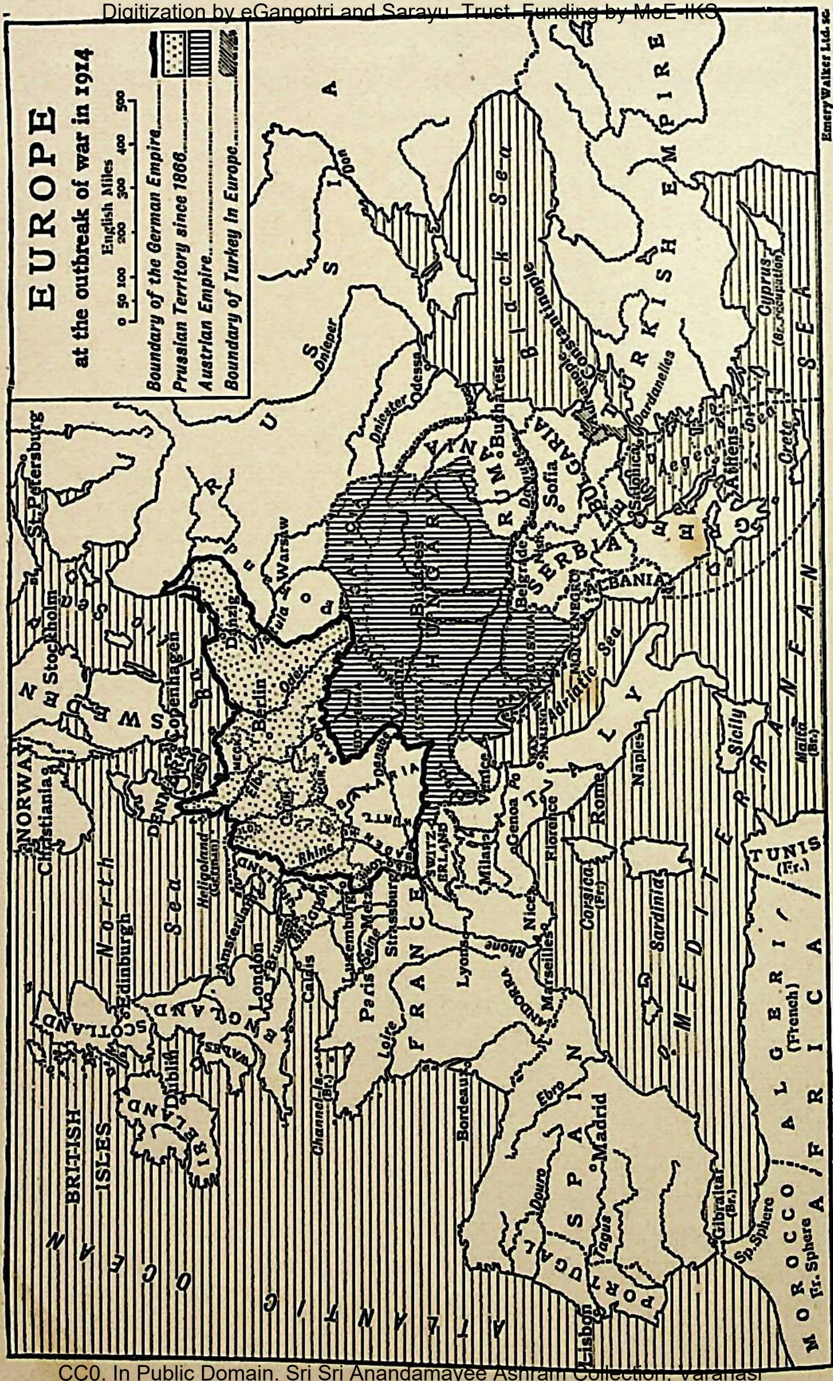
The Germans soon succeeded, by clever diplomacy, in re-establishing their influence in Turkey, even more firmly than before, as there was among the Young Turks no leader as cunning as the old Sultan Abdul Hamid, who had been skilful in getting something for nothing, except promises rarely fulfilled. It now became most probable that in time of need Germany would be able to get the help of Turkey. The Berlin–Baghdad railway was pushed on as fast as possible, under German control; this in itself made Britain and Russia very nervous, as it provided the possibility of a threat to the Asiatic possessions of both these countries.

Italy and Tripoli. During the Agadir crisis, Italy, which had long had ambitions in North Africa, declared war on Turkey, and proceeded to invade the Turkish province of Tripoli, between Egypt and Tunis. This was a blow to Germany, for Italy was her ally and Turkey was her friend: in consequence she had to stand aside and let the Italians have their way. When the war of the Balkan League broke out in the following year (1912), Turkey was obliged to give up Tripoli, and a few islands in the Aegean Sea, to Italy. The whole affair was a piece of unwarranted aggression on the part of Italy; and it showed Germany that the Triple Alliance could no longer depend on its third partner.

The Balkan Wars. It will be remembered that in 1912 the Christian states of the Balkans allied together against the Turks, and drove them out of all the Balkan peninsula except Constantinople and the land near it, but that they fell out over the division of the spoil. This war came as a shock to the 'big powers' of Europe, who strove successfully to 'localise' the conflict, that is, to prevent it from spreading into a general European war. When its first stage ended with the defeat of Turkey, these big powers interfered, and settled the terms of peace, terms which caused very bad feeling between Bulgaria and the other Balkan states. The result was the renewal of hostilities, and a settlement made by the three countries, Roumania, Serbia and Greece, without much reference to the big powers. As a result, Bulgaria, sore and defeated, made overtures to Turkey, and to Turkey's friend, Germany, and Austria-Hungary.

The success of Serbia was particularly annoying to the last-named power, for it meant a great increase of Yugo-Slav national feeling in the southern lands of Francis Joseph. On the other hand, Russia was very pleased to see Serbia a much stronger obstacle than before to the German control of the Berlin–Baghdad railway, and to see Slavonic states succeeding against her old enemy Turkey. Roumania also fell out with Austria-Hungary over the position of the many thousands of Roumanians who dwelt under Hungarian rule in the south-east corner of the Dual Monarchy. As none of the Balkan states was thoroughly satisfied with the settlement made in 1913, it was evident that further trouble was likely to arise.

The situation in 1914. To sum up the situation at this point, we have two groups of great powers, each group with several smaller states attached—the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (the last not to be relied on by the other two in case of war), attached



EUROPE
at the outbreak of war in 1914

English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Boundary of the German Empire
Prussian Territory since 1866
Austrian Empire
Boundary of Turkey in Europe
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.
NORWAY
Christiania
SWEDEN
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
R U S S I A
Warsaw
Vistula
Dnieper
Dniester
Don
Odessa
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Danzig
Berlin
Oder
Elbe
Rhine
BAVARIA
Danube
SAXONY
Heligoland (German)
North Sea
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
ENGLAND
London
WALES
IRELAND
Dublin
Amsterdam
Brussels
BELGIUM
Calais
Luxemburg
Metz
Strassburg
Paris
Seine
Loire
FRANCE
Lyons
Rhone
Marseilles
Nice
Bordeaux
Channel Is. (Br.)
ANDORRA
SWITZERLAND
BOHEMIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
GALICIA
HUNGARY
Budapest
BOSNIA
MONTENEGRO
SERBIA
Belgrade
Nish
RUMANIA
Bucharest
BULGARIA
Sofia
Danube
Black Sea
Constantinople
Dardanelles
Salonica
ALBANIA
GREECE
Athens
Aegean Sea
Crete
Cyprus (Br. occupation)
TURKISH EMPIRE
ITALY
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Po
Florence
Rome
Naples
Adriatic Sea
Corsica (Fr.)
Sardinia
Sicily
Malta (Br.)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TUNIS (Fr.)
ALGERIA (French)
AFRICA
MOROCCO
Fr. Sphere
Sp. Sphere
Gibraltar (Br.)
SPAIN
Madrid
Ebro
Douro
Tagus
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
ATLANTIC OCEAN

to which were Turkey and Bulgaria: and the *Triple Entente*, consisting of the Dual Alliance of France and Russia, with whom Britain had an understanding which included a naval agreement with France; Russia had Serbia closely attached, while Belgium, made nervous by German military preparations on her frontier, was inclined to rely on France and Britain; Roumania and Greece probably preferred this combination to the former. Feeling between these groups had gradually grown worse, for each was so nervous of the other that all the states were pushing on military and naval preparations to safeguard themselves in case of a war breaking out. In each state, with the exception of Britain, was a party which regarded war as both necessary and desirable; this idea was particularly strong among the soldiers of Germany and the statesmen of Austria-Hungary and Russia. The German military leaders in 1914 felt that their country was more ready for war than any other: the Kiel Canal had been opened, allowing for the passage of the largest battleships from the Baltic to the North Sea; German plans of mobilisation, that is, of bringing her armies from a peace to a war footing, and plans of campaign which she was prepared to execute as soon as mobilisation was completed, were quite ready, whereas France had not yet completed an intended increase of military strength, and Russia's preparations for war were not really due to be completed until 1917.

It is clear from the foregoing that the true cause of the war breaking out was the state of high nervous tension among the big powers, due to the fact that all of them knew that they themselves or any of the others were prepared in the last resort to go to war in order to secure some political advantage. Each people seems to have believed in the sincerity of its own leaders' desire for peace, but not in the sincerity of its neighbour's; in other words, it was *fear* that drove the nations into conflict. Freedom from fear was one of the great causes which inspired the free nations of the world when they met the challenge of the aggressors in the Second World War.

The outbreak of war. In the early part of 1914 the European situation seemed to be less threatening, for Britain and Germany appeared to be settling some of their differences; but it was actually so unstable that any untoward event was liable to upset its delicate balance. This event happened in the month of June. The Archduke Franz-Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian thrones, was in favour of extending to the Slavonic subjects of his country a share in the control of their affairs, which had hitherto been divided between the Austrians and Hungarians; but first he wished to weaken Serbia. He took a journey into Bosnia, and at a town named Sarajevo he and his wife were assassinated by a young Bosnian favourable to Serbia. The statesmen of Austria, particularly Berchtold, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, determined to make use of this terrible deed by accusing the Serbian government of aiding the assassination plot, though this was in all probability not the case. They made up their minds to force Serbia into war, and in this they had the approval of the German government.

On July 23rd an ultimatum was sent to Serbia, demanding that all anti-Austrian propaganda in Serbia should be put down, with the aid of Austrian officials; several other conditions of a humiliating kind were added, and a reply was requested within forty-eight hours. The Serbian government replied with great moderation, but could not accept all the conditions demanded. Russia now showed her determination to interfere on the side of Serbia, and the German government seemed disposed to hesitate; but the military leaders were too strong for the statesmen. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, tried in vain to bring about a settlement. On July 28th, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, and two days later the Russians began to mobilise their forces. On August 1st they received a warning from Germany to cease mobilisation, and later on that day, even before the Russian answer was received, Germany declared war on Russia. France mobilised, but war was not declared on her till August 3rd. The British government hesitated, still hoping to avert the disaster, and demanded that both France and Germany should maintain the neutrality of Belgium. The former accepted, the latter refused. Britain was already bound by an obligation to defend the coast of France against any German naval attack, and it became clear that Germany was about to violate the neutrality of Belgium. This actually happened on August 4th. The Belgians appealed to Britain, and at midnight Britain declared war on Germany.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXI

It was obvious to anyone who studied the last chapter that war on a large scale was liable to break out at any moment, mainly because of the *fear* of aggression universally felt by every country. This chapter shows how, after a series of crises during which war was narrowly averted, it did actually break out in 1914. In no case do the issues involved appear to justify the appalling catastrophe which took place. It is important to realise that very few people in the ten years or so before 1914 understood in what danger they stood; they were content to leave everything to their political leaders and diplomatists. This ignorance was to a large extent the reason why war was allowed to break out, and the same is to a certain degree true of the years before 1939. Future catastrophes can only be prevented by an enlightened and educated public opinion keeping its statesmen and military leaders under control.

The books recommended for the last chapter are also useful for this one. The earlier part of Slosson's 'Twentieth Century Europe' will also be found useful. The best book is by Lowes Dickinson, 'The International Anarchy, 1904–1914'. A popularly written account of the few weeks before the outbreak of war, written by a German author named Ludwig, and entitled 'July 1914', is interesting, though not wholly accurate. Bethmann-Hollweg's 'Reflections on the World War' gives the official German point of view.

Some Important Dates.

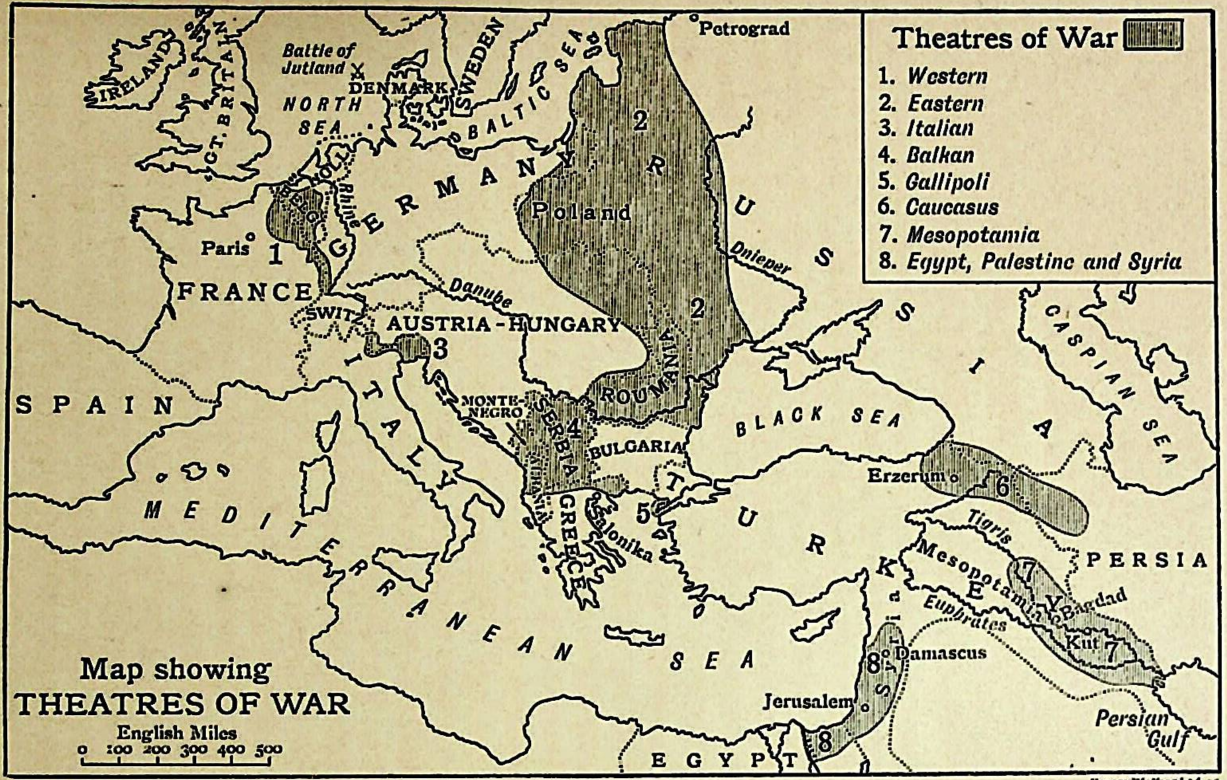
1899. First Hague Conference.
1906. Algeciras Conference, after crisis.
1907. Second Hague Conference.
1908. Balkan Crisis. Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.
1911. Agadir incident.
Italy declared war on Turkey.
1912–13. First and Second Balkan wars.
1914. June. Assassination at Sarajevo of Archduke Franz-Ferdinand of Austria.
July. Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.
Outbreak of general war on Continent of Europe.
August. Germany violated Belgian neutrality. Great Britain joined in war.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914–1918

The general situation. The story of the First World War is so full of events that it is difficult to tell in detail and impossible to follow without careful reference to maps of the world and of Europe. The main 'theatres of war', that is, the principal areas in which fighting took place, were in Europe, but there were also some in Asia and Africa. It must also be remembered that the seas of the world, especially the North Sea between Britain and Germany, were also theatres of war of great importance. It must further be understood that four countries, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, usually called the Central Powers, were fighting against six others which surrounded them, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Russia, Serbia, and Italy, usually called the Allied Powers, or the Allies: to the latter must be added Japan, whose army only took part in one short campaign, in China, as we saw in Chapter XVII. Later on a number of smaller powers joined the Allies: in 1917 Russia dropped out, but was replaced by the United States of America. With Great Britain came in the whole British Empire.

The war began with a great blow aimed by Germany at France, through Belgium, with the hope of winning the war at one stroke. This failed, though the Germans remained in occupation of a part of France and nearly all Belgium. The rest of the war consisted in a 'blockade' by land and sea of the Central Powers, whose armies and navies were ringed round by those of the Allies. Several



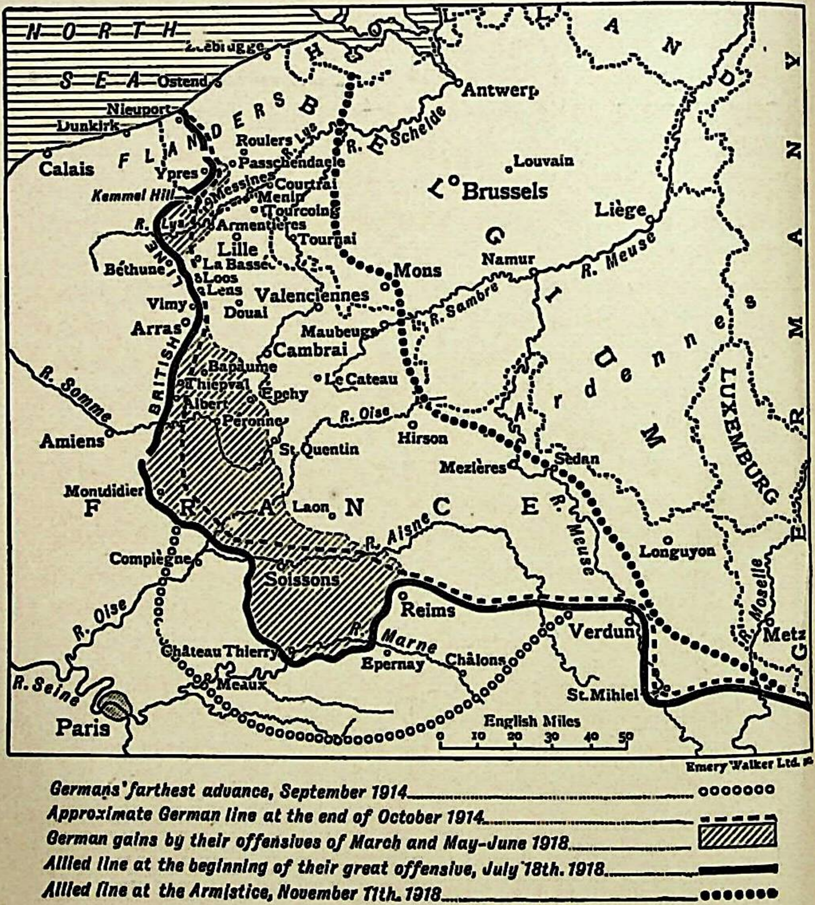
Map showing
THEATRES OF WAR

Theatres of War
1. Western
2. Eastern
3. Italian
4. Balkan
5. Gallipoli
6. Caucasus
7. Mesopotamia
8. Egypt, Palestine and Syria
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
IRELAND
GT. BRITAIN
Baltle of Jutland
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Petrograd
GERMANY
RUSSIA
Poland
Dnieper
Paris
FRANCE
BELG.
HOLL.
Rhine
SWITZ.
Danube
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
SPAIN
ITALY
MONTE-NEGRO
SERBIA
ALBANIA
BULGARIA
GREECE
Salonika
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Erzerum
TURKEY
Tigris
Euphrates
Mesopotamia
Bagdad
Kut
PERSIA
Persian Gulf
Damascus
SYRIA
Jerusalem
EGYPT
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
1
2
2
2
3
4
5
6
7
7
8
8

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

strong attempts were made by the Germans to break this blockade, but did not succeed except on the Russian frontier. Finally the stout defence put up by the Central Powers gave way, partly owing to successful campaigns by the Allies, and partly to the lack of necessaries for carrying on the war and for feeding the civil populations, caused by the sea and land blockade. But before this took place nearly all the countries engaged in the war had to call up every man capable of performing military service. The two facts that there was a great 'reservoir' of man-power in the United States of America capable of being brought over and used against the exhausted Central Powers, and that the sea blockade by the British Navy proved effective in preventing necessaries from reaching them, were finally decisive.

The opening campaign: (1) The Western Front. The plan of the German General Staff—the military leaders who directed all the movements of their armies—was to stand on the defensive against Russia, whose armies were held to be very slow in coming into action, and to march through Belgium round the left wing of the French armies, and strike direct at Paris, the French capital. Now Belgium was a country whose neutrality had been guaranteed previously by a treaty signed by all the principal powers of Europe. But Germany disregarded this treaty as 'a scrap of paper', and invaded Belgium at the beginning of August. The Belgian army behind the border fortress of Liège resisted bravely for ten days, and this enabled the small British Expeditionary Force under Sir John French to cross the English Channel and to concentrate around the Belgian town of Mons. Very heavy artillery broke down the resistance of Liège, and the Germans burst through Belgium. None of the other


NORTH SEA
Zeebrugge
Ostend
Nieuport
Dunkirk
Calais
FLANDERS
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
GERMANY
LUXEMBURG
FRANCE
Ardennes
Antwerp
Roulers
R. Lys
R. Scheldt
Passchendaele
Ypres
Messines
Courtrai
Menin
Kemmel Hill
Tourcoing
R. Lys
Armentières
Tournai
Lille
Béthune
La Bassée
Loos
Lens
Mons
Namur
Louvain
Brussels
Liège
R. Meuse
R. Sambre
Valenciennes
Douai
Vimy
Arras
BRITISH LINE
Maubeuge
Cambrai
Bapaume
Thiepval
Albert
Le Cateau
Epehy
R. Somme
Péronne
R. Oise
Hirson
Amiens
St. Quentin
Sedan
Mezières
Montdidier
Laon
R. Meuse
R. Aisne
Longuyon
Compiègne
Soissons
R. Moselle
Reims
Verdun
Metz
R. Oise
R. Marne
Château Thierry
Epernay
Châlons
R. Seine
Meaux
St. Mihiel
Paris
English Miles
0
10
20
30
40
50
Emery Walker Ltd. sc.
Germans' farthest advance, September 1914 oooooooo
Approximate German line at the end of October 1914 ----
German gains by their offensives of March and May-June 1918 ▨
Allied line at the beginning of their great offensive, July 18th. 1918 ▬
Allied line at the Armistice, November 11th. 1918 ●●●●●●●

Map of the Western Front

fortresses could offer any effective resistance to these great guns, and the French were not ready to meet the attack round their left wing. They had to retreat on Paris, and the British had to retreat with them, while the remains of the Belgian army retired on Antwerp. The

Germans treated Belgium with unnecessary severity, among other barbarities destroying the beautiful old town of Louvain with its wonderful University library, and shooting in cold blood many who were not soldiers. The French and British retreat of about 170 miles was conducted with remarkable skill and bravery: their armies suffered heavy losses, but inflicted great slaughter on the advancing German masses.

The French commander Joffre had been taken by surprise by the strength and speed of the German attack round his left flank. But he had a plan ready. Early in September one of the German army commanders, General von Kluck, made a serious mistake. At once Joffre launched his plan: he sent French armies together with the British against von Kluck's army, so that it was in danger of being cut off from the rest of the German forces. To the bitter disappointment of the Germans the whole of their right wing, part of which had got to within twenty miles of Paris, had to retreat, and were driven from the river Marne back to the river Aisne. The rest of the armies, French and German, remained in touch with each other from the great fortress of Verdun southwards near the Franco-German frontier down to the border of Switzerland. The German armies which had been defeated on the Marne rallied, and stayed in strong positions on a line from east to west along the Aisne. Each side now tried to get round the other's open flank to the north, so as to get or keep possession of the Channel ports; but neither succeeded. From near where the Aisne joins the river Oise the battle line ran northwards about fifty miles to the sea. Each side dug trenches and made holes in the ground called 'dug-outs'; and in the trenches along these lines, with very little alteration, the opposing armies remained in conditions of danger and discomfort until

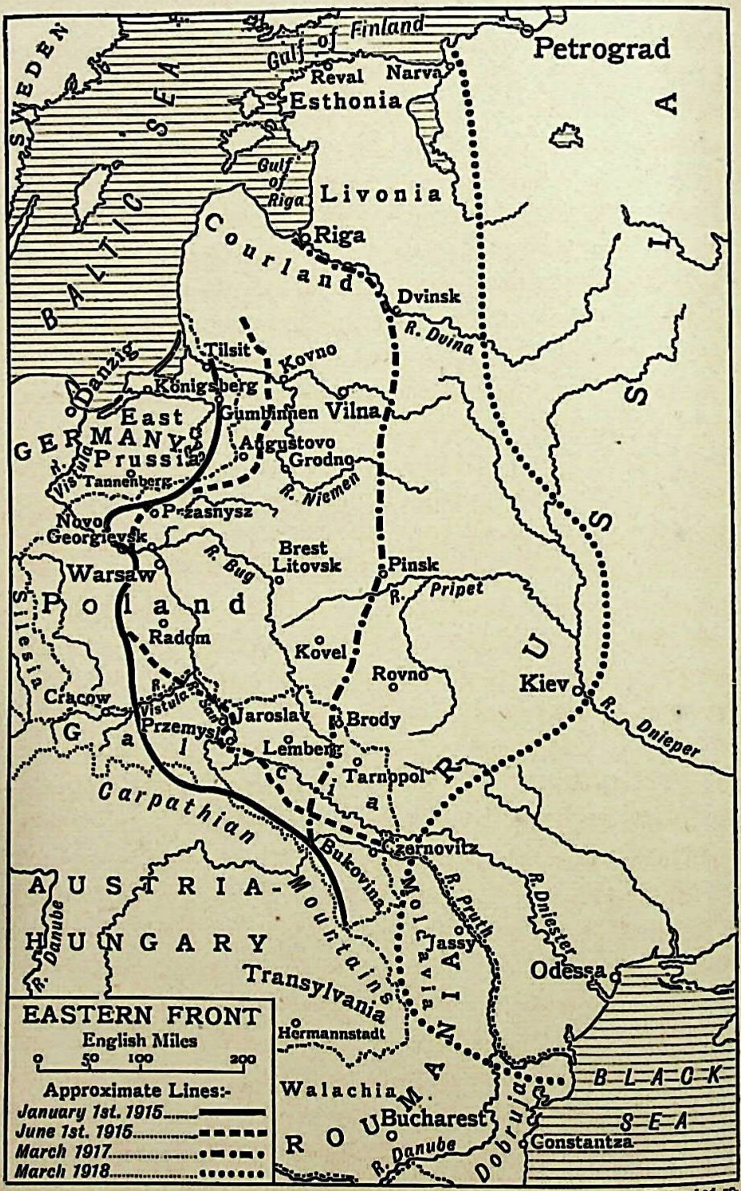
1917, and in some portions of the line until 1918. Attacks by both sides, involving very careful preparations, the firing of many tons of shells and bullets, and the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, were made on short portions of this long line; but neither side succeeded in breaking through.

(2) **The seas.** On the seas the British fleet was mobilised at the outbreak of the war, and was so strong that the German fleet did not come out to meet it. Various small actions took place, and the Germans sowed the seas with deadly mines, which lay a little way under the water, ready to explode and to destroy any ship which hit them. These mines were sown especially thick around the German coast, so that the British fleet could not sail in to attack the German fleet in its harbours. German warships in various parts of the world did much damage to the merchant ships of the Allies, but were hunted down and destroyed. One German squadron, commanded by Admiral von Spee, destroyed a smaller British squadron before it was itself destroyed by Admiral Sturdee's ships near the Falkland Islands. Two warships, however, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, in the Mediterranean Sea, escaped to Constantinople, where they were received in a friendly way by the Turks, who joined the Central Powers in October 1914.

The German main fleet only came out once, when it met the British fleet in the North Sea. Only a combination of good luck and a speedy retreat saved it from destruction by Admiral Jellicoe's ships. It returned to its harbour at Kiel badly damaged, though not before several British warships had been sunk. It did not come out again, and the British Navy was able to enforce the blockade, which became more and more strict each year, and was one of the main reasons for the success of the Allies.

(3) **The Eastern Front.** The Russian armies managed to launch a big attack on East Prussia, which they over-ran in August. The object of this was to distract German forces from their smashing blow towards Paris, and in this object they had some success. But at the end of the month the Germans turned on the Russians; General von Hindenburg inflicted a tremendous defeat on them at the battle of Tannenberg, and drove them back to their own frontiers. But, farther to the south, against the Austrian armies, the Russians won considerable successes. Serbia, too, put up quite a successful resistance to the Austrian attacks for the time being.

The progress of the war: (1) German colonies. In 1915 the war developed in other places besides the Western and Eastern fronts, owing to the intervention of Turkey and Bulgaria on the side of the Central Powers, and of Italy on that of the Allies. Expeditions were also undertaken against the various colonial possessions of Germany; some of these had indeed begun immediately the war started. The naval and military forces of Japan and of the British dominions early accounted for German islands in the Pacific, Tsing-Tao, on the bay of Kiao-chau in China, and German South-west Africa. Togoland and the Cameroons in West Africa fell to local forces of the Allies. But the conquest of German East Africa was a far more difficult task. The German forces under General Lettow von Vorbeck resisted magnificently. They held their ground till 1916, when they were driven out of all but one corner. In the next year they made their way into Portuguese East Africa, and maintained them-


EASTERN FRONT
English Miles
0 50 100 200
Approximate Lines:-
January 1st. 1915
June 1st. 1915
March 1917
March 1918
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Gulf of Finland
Petrograd
Reval
Narva
Esthonia
Gulf of Riga
Livonia
Riga
Courland
Dvinsk
R. Dvina
Tilsit
Kovno
Danzig
Königsberg
Gumbinnen
Vilna
East Prussia
GERMANY
R. Vistula
Augustovo
Grodno
Tannenberg
R. Niemen
Przasnysz
Novo Georgievsk
Brest Litovsk
R. Bug
Warsaw
Pinsk
R. Pripet
Poland
Silesia
Radom
Kovel
Rovno
Kiev
R. Dnieper
Cracow
R. Vistula
R. San
Jaroslav
Brody
Przemysl
Lemberg
Galicia
Tarnopol
Carpathian Mountains
Czernovitz
Bukovina
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
R. Danube
Moldavia
R. Pruth
R. Dniester
Jassy
Odessa
Transylvania
Hermannstadt
Walachia
ROUMANIA
Bucharest
R. Danube
Dobruja
Constantza
BLACK SEA
RUSSIA

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

selves there until the end of the war, holding out in spite of great privations. The credit of defeating them lay with the forces of the Union of South Africa, led by General Smuts. The fact that Germany lost all her colonial possessions is a witness to the strength of British sea power.

(2) **Italy.** Italy had been a member of the Triple Alliance, but her statesmen had come to believe that her interests lay rather with the Allied Powers; they had indeed fallen out with Germany over the Italian war against Turkey for Tripoli. In 1915 they decided to join the Allies, and declared war on Austria. But the defensive positions held by the Austrians on the Italian frontier were so strong that the Italian armies were unable to penetrate them. In 1917 the Germans sent troops who had previously been employed against Russia to this front, and drove back the Italians with great loss. French and British troops were sent to their aid, and they managed to hold up the German and Austrian attack. In the next year they were able to advance victoriously.

(3) Turkey and Bulgaria. At the beginning of 1915 certain British leaders had the idea of striking a great blow at Turkey by capturing the Dardanelles Straits and Constantinople, and thus opening communications with Russia by way of the Black Sea; otherwise the only communicating route was the difficult one by the Arctic Sea. But the scheme was not well thought out; warning was given to the Turks by a naval bombardment of the forts on the Gallipoli peninsula, which guard the entrance to the straits. This bombardment was not supported by land troops, with the result that when British and French troops later on arrived, they found the Turks ready for them in strongly prepared positions laid out by the German General Liman von Sanders. Brilliant bravery secured them a landing on the peninsula, but they could get no farther. Thousands of lives were lost, and in the end the Allied forces had to be withdrawn. It was here that the famous 'Anzac' division from Australia and New Zealand, and the 29th division from Britain behaved with such astounding valour.

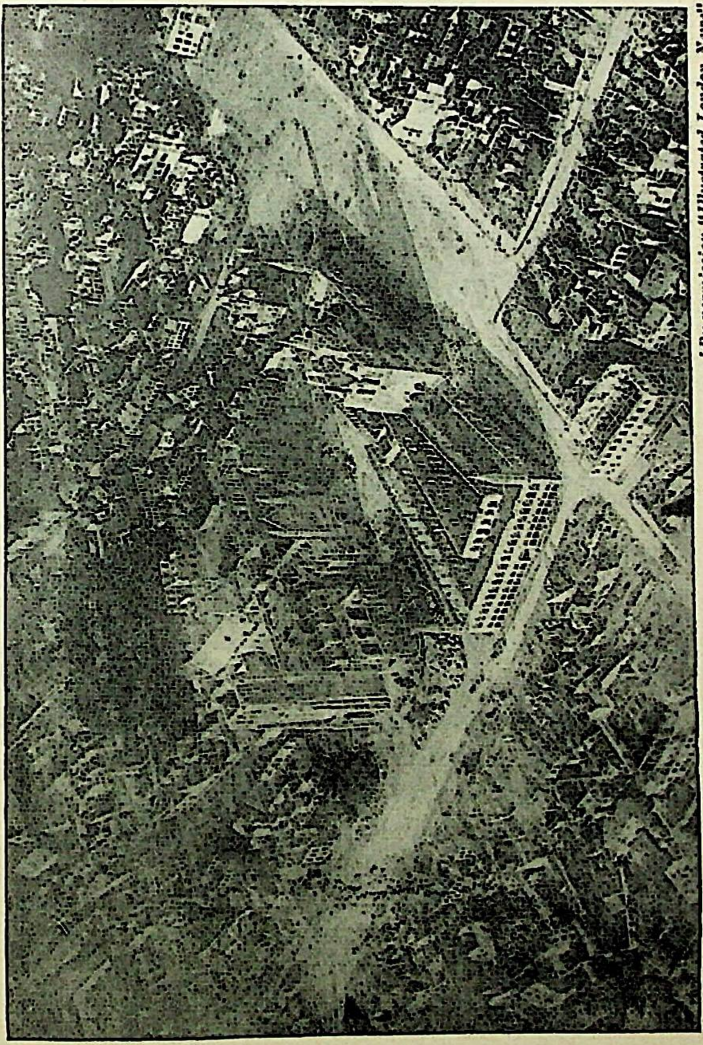
The failure here had much to do with bringing Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Central Powers, in October 1915: in the same month the intention of the great Greek statesman Venizelos of bringing in his country on the side of the Allies was prevented by the King of Greece. At this time the Serbians were being hard pressed by German forces under General Mackensen; the Bulgarians attacked them on their right flank, and they were driven from their country. The Allies, however, sent some troops to the Greek port of Salonica, and established a defensive position there. The Serbian army was taken off the west coast of the Balkan peninsula in warships, refitted, and sent to join the Allied forces at Salonica.

(4) Palestine and Mesopotamia. The British undertook two other campaigns against Turkey. Turkish troops had threatened the Suez Canal between Egypt and Palestine, on the highroad to India, and the oil-wells in Mesopotamia and Persia, from which was supplied much of the fuel for British warships. Expeditions sent to protect both these threatened areas developed into attacks on the Turkish provinces of Palestine and Mesopotamia, in which many Indian troops took part. The attack on Mesopotamia met with a severe check early in 1916, and that on Palestine was held up until 1917, when General Allenby advanced and captured Jerusalem. In the same year General Maude advanced in Mesopotamia and captured Baghdad. In 1918 both these expeditions advanced still farther and won great successes against the Turks.

(5) The Eastern Front. On the Russian frontier the war surged backwards and forwards. The Russians drove back the Austrians in 1915, only to suffer another defeat from the Germans, so severe that they never really recovered from it. The greatest difficulty for Russia was the lack of munitions of war to arm her millions of soldiers; and though the Allies did their best to supply the need, they could not satisfy it. In the next year she won another great success against the Austrians, which encouraged the small state of Roumania to join the Allies. But in 1917 a revolution took place in Russia, and although for a short time this meant that the war was more vigorously carried on, it was, as will be explained in Chapter XXIV, to mean the exit of Russia from the struggle. Roumania was left unprotected, was invaded by the Germans under Mackensen, and forced to surrender on terms dictated by Germany.

(6) The seas. Although German warships were confined to their coast by the superiority of the British fleet, her submarines were still able to get out, and to destroy Allied shipping in great quantities. They committed several acts contrary to the recognised practices of civilised nations at war, sinking merchant ships without warning. They sank so much shipping that for a time Britain, which is dependent on overseas commerce for the food supply of her people, was in serious danger of starvation. But by 'rationing', that is, not allowing any person to buy more than a certain quantity of food every week, by a system of 'convoying' merchant ships under the protection of warships, and by various devices for finding out and destroying the submarines, the danger was just averted. Furthermore, several American ships were sunk, as well as other ships with Americans on board. Therefore when the Germans openly declared that they were going to sink all ships at sight without warning, from the beginning of 1917, the United States of America declared war upon them in April of that year.

(7) The Western Front. The battle front in Belgium and France always remained the most important. Here were concentrated the main forces of France, Britain, and Germany. Success for either side here would mean the winning of the whole war. The Germans had one great advantage—their troops could be transferred quickly from one front to another: in the case of the Allies this was difficult, or in some cases impossible. The Germans also fought under one unified command, which was not done by the Allied troops on the Western front until 1918. Many fierce battles took place, each one with the object by the attacking forces of breaking through and 'rolling up' the whole battle line of the enemy. Terrible losses in killed and wounded were suffered, amounting to millions on both sides. In Britain the old Regular Army of 250,000, and the Territorial Army of 300,000 were increased, first by young men joining the armies of their own free will, and later by 'conscription', that is, men being compelled to join, until more than five millions were under arms. Millions of women and older men worked hard making ammunition

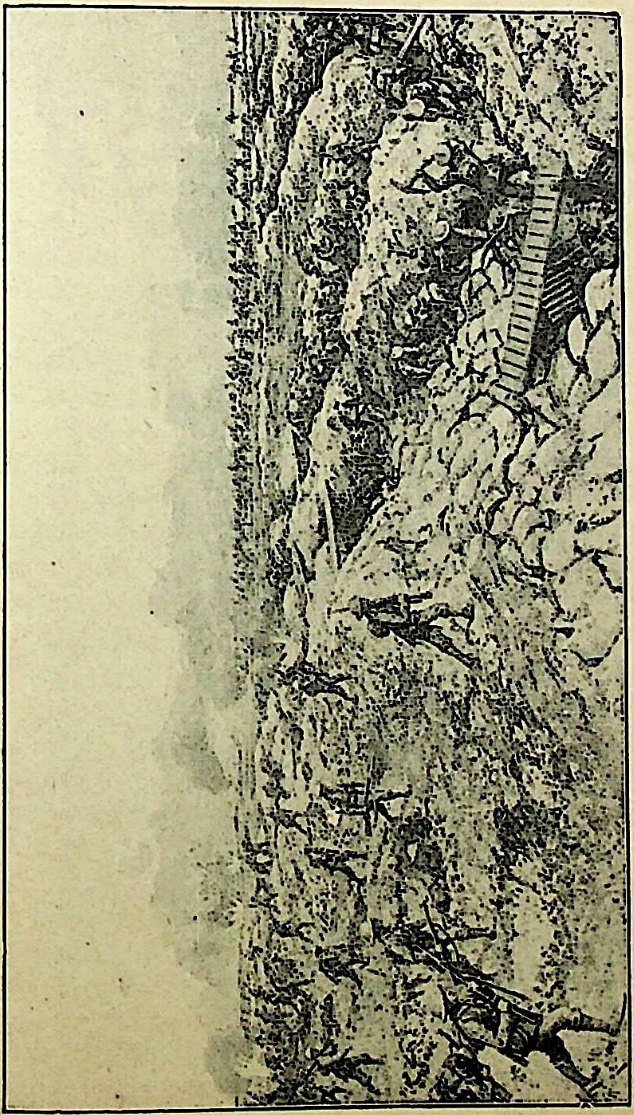


Ypres, after bombardment

[By permission "Illustrated London News" and other necessaries of war. The organisation of the 'New Armies' was largely the work of Lord Kitchener.

In 1915 the Allies first attacked at Neuve Chapelle, and the Germans answered with an attack on Ypres, in which the deadly poison gas was first used. Other attacks were made, but all ended in failure to break the opposing battle line. In 1916 the Germans devoted their energies to a tremendous attempt to capture the fortress of Verdun, held by the French, and the Allies made an advance at an awful cost in lives on the river Somme. Early in 1917 the Germans retreated on a part of their front, but only to take up stronger positions from ten to twenty miles back, against which the Allies hurled their forces in vain.

The ending of the war. It was a great encouragement to the Allies to know that they were going to have with them millions of soldiers from America. But it took a long time to bring these over, and meanwhile German armies were fast being freed to come across from the Eastern front. The Allies sent many officers to train the new American armies, as well as transports, guarded by British and American warships, to bring them over. Early in 1918 the Germans had accumulated vast numbers against the British Fifth Army and the French army immediately to its right; and in March they launched against them a tremendous attack. The Allied line was bent backwards, and all but broken: but their troops offered a wonderful resistance, and just held out. The German attacks continued till July, when Foch, the French general, who had been put in supreme command of the Allied forces in France, brought off a brilliant counter-attack. On July 18 the German forces began to give way, and slowly retreated. By the



A battlefield scene, Western Front

end of August much of the lost ground had been recovered, and September saw the Allies advancing everywhere.

From Salonica the mixed Allied forces, joined now by the Greeks, pushed forward into Bulgaria, and at the end of September the Bulgarians laid down their arms. By this means Turkey was cut off from her allies. General Allenby advanced through Syria, as far as the Constantinople–Baghdad railway, and by the end of October Turkey too was out of the war. In the last week of the same month the Italians attacked the Austrians with equal success, and they too gave way everywhere. Only Germany was left. In spite of desperate resistance, the German armies in the West were pushed steadily back in a series of great battles, fought mainly by the British. The German General Staff was determined to prolong resistance, and even ordered the navy to come out. This order was disobeyed by the sailors, who began a revolution which spread all over Germany. It was useless to go on any longer, and on November 11, as the Allies were moving on the German frontier, the Germans asked for and obtained an 'armistice'. All the royal thrones of Germany, including that of the Emperor himself, were cast down, and the terms of the armistice were concluded with the representatives of the new German Republic.

The nature of modern warfare. In former days war was conducted with a certain amount of pomp and pageantry, perhaps even romance. Campaigns were not usually fought except in the summer, or the dry season. Brilliant uniforms were worn, and leaders often rode into battle at the head of their troops, of whom there were not a very great number. In the wars of the twentieth century the nature of warfare changed, especially on land: and there came in a new kind—war in the air. Bright-coloured uniforms could no longer be worn, and soldiers had to wear dull-coloured ones so as to be as little observed by the enemy as possible. Warfare went on all through the year, though it was more difficult in winter or in monsoon time in the tropics owing to the vehicles used for transporting men and materials getting stuck in the mud. The guns of the artillery hurled shells of great destructive power very long distances and very accurately, and aircraft dropped bombs on enemy forces far behind where their forward troops were in contact with those of the enemy. The leaders no longer rode on horses at the head of their men, but directed them from miles behind by written orders, by telephone and by wireless. In the First World War the soldiers fighting in Europe spent most of their time in muddy trenches or in deep holes in the ground, enduring great discomfort, as well as danger from the accurate weapons of the enemy. Poison gases were used, one of which, mustard gas, infected the very ground itself. In the Second World War, owing to the development of heavily armoured fighting vehicles usually known as 'tanks', there was much more movement, but often mines were laid just beneath the surface of the ground to blow up soldiers and vehicles as they passed over them. Poison gas, however, was not used.

At sea, warships fought each other at distances so great that the enemy's ships were hardly visible to sailors on board, and as the Second World War went on, sea battles were fought by the aircraft from huge aircraft carriers bombing and sinking the ships of the enemy many miles away.

Millions of men were engaged in fighting, and behind them the whole populations of the countries at war were organised to produce arms and ammunition and other war materials. Their food supplies were in constant danger of running short, and in some countries, for instance in Germany during the First World War, whole populations came near starvation: this was one great reason that brought about the collapse of German resistance in 1918, owing to the blockade by the Allied navies. In both wars Britain was in danger of starvation because the German submarines sank so many ships bringing in food.

To a certain extent in the First, but far more in the Second World War, these populations themselves, if the war was being fought within a few hundred miles of their country, came in danger of being killed or wounded by bombs filled with high explosives dropped by aircraft: or if not killed or wounded, of having their homes destroyed. Germany suffered worst in the Second World War, but fearful destruction was also caused in Britain. Right at the end of that war a far more terrible kind of bomb was used—twice only—known as the atom bomb; and since that time an even more destructive bomb—the hydrogen bomb—has been discovered, though not used. The two atom bombs destroyed the greater part of two large Japanese cities, and left some of those who survived with terrible diseases. One hydrogen bomb could destroy all or most of the biggest city in the world, and a large area of the surrounding country as well. It is quite possible that if only a comparatively few hydrogen bombs were exploded the whole of mankind, and, indeed, all living things, might perish.

At the end of 1957 only the air forces of the U.S.A., Russia, and the United Kingdom had these hydrogen bombs. These three countries are experimenting with what is known as the 'inter-continental ballistic missile', by which an atom bomb or a hydrogen bomb could be sent to a target thousands of miles away, not carried by an aircraft. It seems unlikely that the leaders of any country could be willing to take the awful risks of using and perhaps receiving back such appalling means of destruction. But it is not impossible. The only way in which it could be made impossible is for every country to give up any idea at all of making war. Yet to-day we still see big armies, navies, and air forces, and hear that some of the more rash leaders of some countries still talk of going to war with their enemies. But even a small war can easily turn into a big one: and any war which is big enough to bring in a country which has and is willing to use hydrogen bombs may well mean the end of life on this earth. That is why leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru insist that force must never be used by one country against another.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXII

The war of 1914 to 1918 was by far the greatest war that had ever been waged till then, as regards the issues involved, the numbers engaged, the high proportion of soldiers under arms to the manhood of the nations fighting, and the proportion of 'casualties' to the total number of troops. The course of the war is described in this chapter, as far as it can be done in so short a space, and a final paragraph on the appalling character of modern warfare is added (out of the author's own experience and observation). Particularly significant is the fact that by the last year of the war the majority of the nations in the world were actually or nominally at war. It is of even greater importance to note that the economic civilisation on which modern life is founded only just stood the strain without collapse, and the danger of this after the Second World War is far greater.

Legions of books have already been written on this great subject. The most useful on which to begin is by Carey and Scott, 'Outline History of the Great War'. General histories of no great length have also been written by Pollard, and by Buchan. Sir Winston Churchill's books on 'The World Crisis and After' are informative. Liddell-Hart, 'The Real War', gives an able account of the military aspects of the war. Most of the countries concerned afterwards published official histories of various campaigns: a constant stream of 'war-books' for several years poured out from the press, but not many of these did more than convey personal impressions of a small part of the great conflict. Memoirs or autobiographies of soldiers, sailors, and statesmen in high positions are perhaps the most valuable of these.

Some Important Dates.

1914. Outbreak of war: Decisive battles of the Marne, and of Tannenberg.

1914–1918. War of position on Western Front.

1915. The Allies joined by Italy.

1916. Sea Battle of Jutland. Last emergence of German fleet.

1917. Disaster to the Italian armies.
Russian Revolution lost the Allies the support of that country.
United States of America joined the Allies.
British captured Jerusalem and Baghdad.

1918. German attempt to break the Allied front in the West narrowly averted.
Allied advance on all fronts.
Central Powers sought armistices in following order: Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria-Hungary, Germany.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PEACE TREATIES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Armistice. The leaders of the Allies were determined to make Germany accept such terms of armistice as would prevent any renewal of the war. In this way the Central Powers would be forced to agree to any final peace conditions that the Allies chose to dictate. However, these conditions had been outlined by President Wilson of the United States under fourteen headings, known as 'The Fourteen Points', most of which were agreed upon by the rest of the Allies; and it was on the basis of these fourteen points that the German leaders intended to negotiate. But the severity of the armistice terms really took away from them any real power of bargaining. The principal terms were—the evacuation of Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine; the surrender of the greater part of the German fleet and of all submarines, of much war material and of all prisoners; the German prisoners captured by the Allies were not to be immediately released; the commercial blockade was not to be ended; and the treaties which had been forced on Russia and Roumania were to be held void. The armistice terms given to the other defeated countries were less severe.

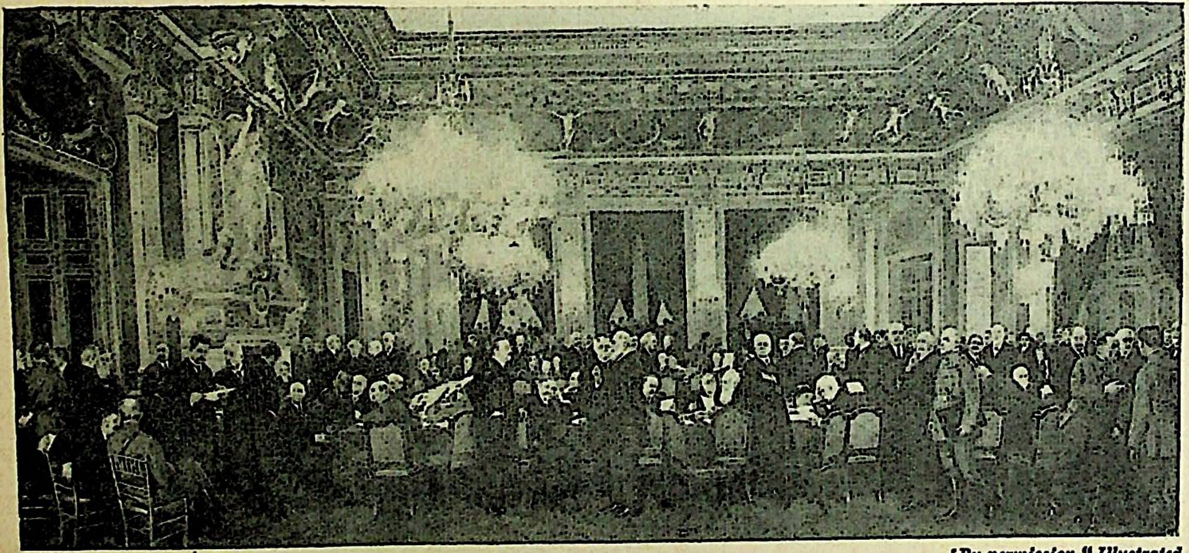
The Peace Conference. It was decided that the representatives of all the Allied countries should meet in Paris in January 1919, there to decide on the terms of peace, and then present them to the defeated countries.

Altogether more than a thousand representatives and officials came from most of the countries in the world. The most prominent among them were Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando, Prime Ministers of France, Britain, and Italy respectively. The final decision on all points really lay in the hands of these four men; but numerous committees and commissions had the tasks of drawing up the various clauses of the treaties, of seeing that the terms of the armistice were carried out, and of trying to maintain order among the states of Europe, old and new.

Topical

President Wilson

Although Wilson's Fourteen Points were supposed to be the basis of the peace terms, other considerations had to be taken into account. New states had come into being with the break-up of the Austrian, Russian, and Turkish empires; and the boundaries of these had to be settled as far as possible according to the existing situation. During the war the Allied Powers had made



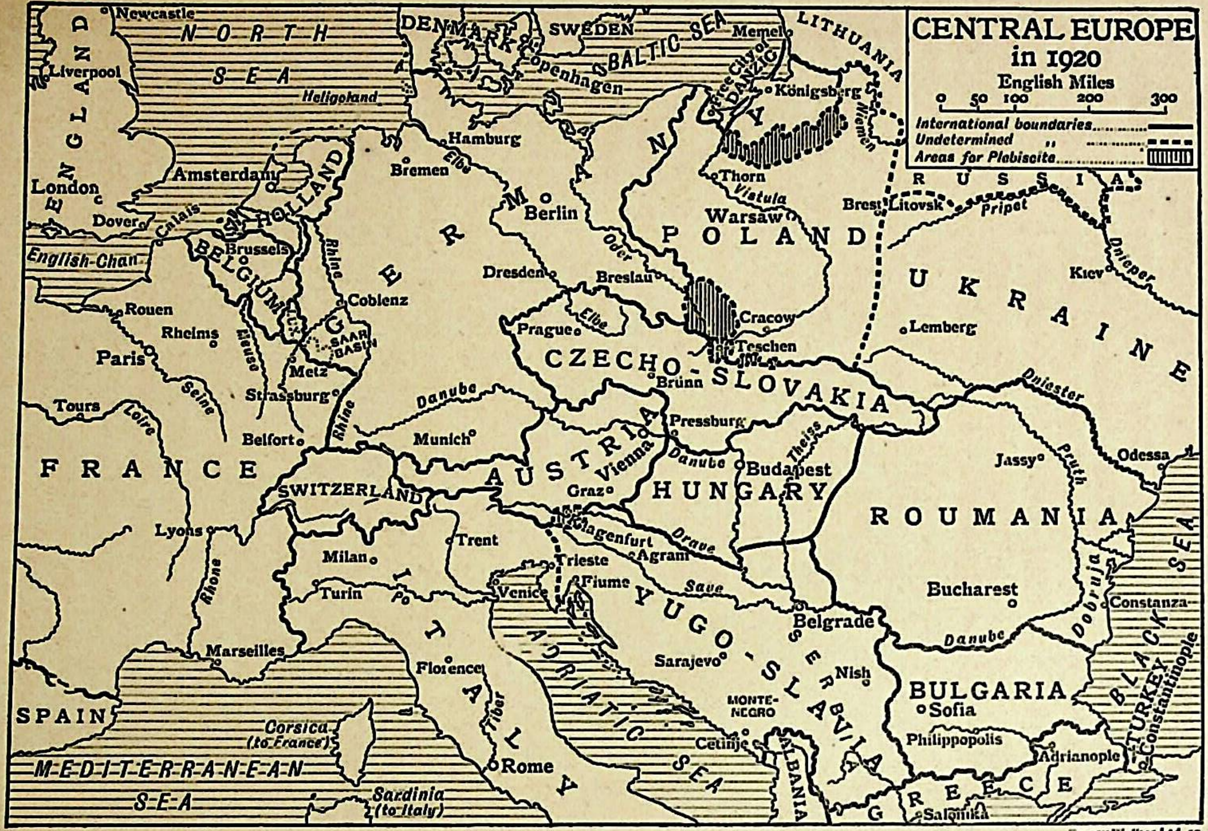
Meeting of the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919

[By permission "Illustrated London News" secret agreements with each other as to what was to be done in the event of their victory; for example, large promises had been made to Italy and Roumania as a condition of joining the Allies. Then there was a strong feeling that Germany, especially the German war-leaders, ought to be punished; in addition, there were the traditional notions of 'the spoils to the victors', and 'the balance of power'. In these ways President Wilson's idea of an impartial settlement based on abstract principles of justice and 'self-determination' became modified. In the discussions which took place he was on the whole outmanœuvred by his more experienced colleagues; though there is no doubt but that his presence among 'the Big Four', as they were called, and the support often given him by Lloyd George, did very greatly shape the final terms of the peace treaties.

The task of the treaty-makers may be thus summarised. They had to re-draw the map of Europe, so as to harmonise as far as possible national and racial feelings with the conflicting claims of the victors. They had to decide what was to be done with territories outside Europe, which had been in German or Turkish hands before the war. They had to decide how far Germany and her allies were to be made to pay for the immense damage which the war had done. Finally, they had to look for a means of preventing the outbreak of war, not only in the immediate future, but, if possible, for ever.

This task was done in a series of separate treaties, of which the most important was the Treaty of Versailles, with Germany. The German representatives were summoned: they strenuously objected to many of the terms, but their objections were mostly in vain, and they felt compelled to sign the treaty. It is interesting to notice that it was signed in the same Hall of Mirrors where the establishment of the German Empire had been announced in 1871. The other treaties were with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. The last-named speedily upset the settlement, and a fresh treaty had to be made in 1923.

The terms of the settlement. The terms of this settlement can only be followed by careful reference to maps. In Europe, France received Alsace-Lorraine back again, and was given control of the coal mines in the valley of the Saar for fifteen years, as compensation for the damage done to the French coal mines during the German occupation. Belgium was given three small districts on her frontier. Italy received the port of Trieste on the Adriatic, and the district around it, also the mountainous district of Southern Tyrol, which contained not only people of Italian race, but also an Austrian population of over 200,000. The fate of Schleswig, which had been taken from Denmark by Prussia, after the war of 1864, was decided by a 'plebiscite', that is, a vote of the whole population. Central Schleswig decided to remain German, but the northern part went back to Denmark. In the central and eastern parts of Europe a number of new states had arisen, mainly on the ruins of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. Poland at last got back her independence, and received some territory from Germany with access to the port of Danzig on the Baltic Sea, which was made a 'free port' under the control of a commission appointed by the League of Nations. To the north of Poland had come into existence the three republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and still farther north that of Finland. These four had been formerly under Russian rule. Czechoslovakia was formed by the union of the two old Austrian provinces of Bohemia and Galicia.


CENTRAL EUROPE
in 1920
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300
International boundaries
Undetermined ,,
Areas for Plebiscite
ENGLAND
Newcastle
Liverpool
London
Dover
Calais
English Chan
NORTH SEA
Heligoland
DENMARK
Copenhagen
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Memel
LITHUANIA
Free City of DANZIG
Königsberg
Niemen
Amsterdam
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
Brussels
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe
GERMANY
Berlin
Oder
Dresden
Breslau
Rhine
Coblenz
SAAR BASIN
Metz
Strassburg
Meuse
Rouen
Rheims
Paris
Seine
Tours
Loire
Belfort
FRANCE
Lyons
Rhone
Marseilles
SPAIN
Corsica (to France)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Sardinia (to Italy)
SWITZERLAND
Munich
Danube
Thorn
Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
Brest Litovsk
Pripet
RUSSIA
Kiev
Dnieper
UKRAINE
Lemberg
Cracow
Teschen
Prague
Elbe
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
Brünn
Pressburg
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Graz
Klagenfurt
HUNGARY
Budapest
Theiss
Drave
Agram
Save
Dniester
Jassy
Pruth
Odessa
ROUMANIA
Bucharest
Danube
Dobruja
Constanza
BLACK SEA
Trent
Milan
Turin
Po
Venice
Trieste
Fiume
ITALY
Florence
Tiber
Rome
ADRIATIC SEA
YUGO-SLAVIA
SERBIA
Belgrade
Sarajevo
Nish
MONTE-NEGRO
Cetinje
ALBANIA
BULGARIA
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
TURKEY
Constantinople
GREECE
Salonika

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

Roumania received Transylvania, formerly part of Hungary, and still containing a large Hungarian population, and also Bessarabia, formerly taken from her by Russia. The small state of Serbia was greatly extended under the name of Yugoslavia, to include the former kingdom of Montenegro, and Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, with other districts peopled by the Southern Slav race, and once ruled by the Austrian Emperor. Albania remained independent. Greece received additions of territory from Turkey, including some in Asia Minor round Smyrna, from which the new Turkish republic later on expelled her.

Outside Europe there were two main problems to be settled—what was to be done with those districts which had revolted or been captured from Turkey, and what was to be done with the former German colonies. The states of Arabia, of which the most important were the kingdom of the Hedjaz, on the west coast, and the lands under the rule of the chief, Ibn Saud, in the centre, had their independence confirmed. Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and the lands east of the river Jordan were differently treated. It was held that they, like the German colonies, were not yet ready for self-government. It was determined, therefore, that to all of them should be applied 'the Mandate system'. General Smuts, the South African leader, was mainly responsible for this idea, which was taken from the principles on which the non-self-governing parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations had their affairs administered—that is, that lands inhabited by races not yet fitted for self-government should be administered by an outside power with justice and efficiency until fit to take charge of their own affairs. Various countries therefore were given 'mandates' over various parts of the world, to 'hold in trust'; they were to be responsible for these to the League of Nations (of which something will be said later in the chapter). There were three kinds of mandates, varying according to the amount of control exercised by the 'mandatory power'. Britain received mandates over Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia (now known as Iraq), and Trans-Jordania; but in 1922 Britain recognised Egypt as independent, subject to certain conditions regarding foreign and military affairs, the Suez Canal, and the Sudan. France received the mandate over Syria. In these lands the mandatory powers were not supposed to do more than give advice and assistance, especially in maintaining order. In Africa, the old German colonies of Togoland and the Cameroons were mandated to Britain, France, and Belgium, and German East Africa became the mandated territory of Tanganyika, under British control. These were the places in which the second kind of mandate was employed, where the mandatory power exercised direct control, subject to certain conditions. Of the third kind, subject to no conditions except the rendering of an annual report to the Council of the League of Nations, there were South-west Africa, under the rule of the Union of South Africa, Samoa, under New Zealand, and various islands in the Pacific Ocean, divided among Japan, Britain, and Australia.

Germany herself was dealt with severely. The size of her army and navy was strictly limited: she was forbidden to construct any fortresses on the banks of the Rhine, or indeed within fifty miles of the river. Much of the Rhineland was to be occupied by the Allies for fifteen years (this was later modified, and by 1930 the last of the armies of occupation had gone). By the territorial clauses of the peace she lost several districts rich in mines; she was to pay a vast but unnamed sum as 'reparations' for the damage done by her armies in

France and Belgium, and in other ways; and in addition to this large quantities of ships, coal, and other articles were to be handed over to the Allies. In these ways it was hoped to crush German 'militarism' for ever. Less severe terms were imposed on Austria, Hungary, and Turkey, but they were, unlike Germany, greatly reduced in area.

It is this part of the treaty settlement which met with the greatest amount of criticism, and which was later considerably modified. It was drawn up when passions were still running high, and when the French in particular still had before them the sad spectacle of their devastated countryside. However, it compares very favourably with the kind of terms imposed on Russia and Roumania by the Central Powers during the war, as well as with the terms which, according to German writers, would have been imposed on the Allies in the case of a German victory. The fact that a Second World War was caused by the failure to settle the problems raised by the first makes it none the easier to assign reasons for that failure. It is clear, however, that as long as there are countries whose rulers, supported by their peoples, can regard war as an 'instrument of national policy', universal peace can never be assured; and that as long as countries put their own interests before those of mankind as a whole, it will be difficult to work satisfactorily any institutions set up for that purpose.

The League of Nations. There stands in Geneva, Switzerland, beside the lake, an impressive pile of buildings, now empty, originally put up to house the staff and provide room for the meetings of the 'League of Nations', an institution which was intended to bring about and to ensure the continuance of this universal peace. Woodrow Wilson came to the Versailles Conference determined to put into practice the great idea, as stated in the last of his 'Fourteen Points', that 'a general association of nations must be formed . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity'; this he looked upon as the most essential part of the peace settlement itself. At the beginning of Chapter XXI we saw what steps had already been taken in the direction of world peace before 1914, and how inadequate they were. It was therefore decided to set up an organisation which would make the risk of future wars as small as possible, and to embody this in all the treaties which together formed the peace settlement. This organisation consisted of the League of Nations, the Court of International Justice, and the International Labour Organisation.

The 'Covenant' which set up this great peace organisation was mainly the work of the American and British delegates to the Peace Conference; of the latter Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts may be particularly mentioned: M. Bourgeois of France also took a considerable part in drawing it up. The French Premier, M. Clemenceau, was accused of opposing it; he regarded it, however, mainly as one method of obtaining future security for his country.

The purpose of the League of Nations, situated at Geneva, was to set up machinery for settling international disputes by conference and for joint action on international problems. It consisted of a Council of fourteen member countries, an Assembly of all members, and a permanent staff of officials. Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan were to have permanent places at the Council. The United States was also given one, but in 1920 that country refused to join the League, and when Germany was allowed to join in 1926, she filled that place.

The other seats at the Council were filled by vote of the Assembly. Most countries of the world joined, but Turkey, Brazil, and Mexico stayed out, as well as the U.S.A. Russia did not join till much later.

The Court of International Justice, which sat at The Hague in Holland, consisted of able judges appointed by the League from various countries: to this body disputes between countries could be brought for arbitration.

The International Labour Organisation, with much the same membership as the League, consisted of a Governing Body and a General Assembly, as well as a staff of officials. It met to discuss questions of interest to employers and employed throughout the world, so as to bring about a better understanding between them.

Though the whole scheme, with the partial exception of the International Labour Organisation, collapsed with the outbreak of war in 1939, it did succeed during its brief career in settling a certain number of problems, such as taking measures to suppress the traffic in harmful drugs, and in composing some disputes between member countries without resort to arms. It failed because not all the countries of the world joined it, particularly the U.S.A., because members did not use it as it was intended to be used, but mainly because Germany, Italy, and Japan, who all resigned during the 'thirties, had ideas of expansion and conquest by military aggression which made the continuance of peace impossible.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXIII

The main purposes of this chapter are to give the briefest possible outline of the settlements which ended the First World

War, and to sketch the character of the machinery set up to promote the cause of universal peace. The settlements made were of a very much fairer character than those made at Vienna a century earlier; but they were unsatisfactory in many ways, and the expectation that the machinery for settling international disputes would work proved groundless. But the Second World War made it inevitable that some such machinery would have to be devised, something perhaps with greater powers, and with a more real 'will-to-peace' behind it. Statesmen and peoples of all countries will have to be determined that the experiment shall not fail again, even if it means giving up some part of their 'national sovereignty', i.e. the power to do as they like without interference.

A large history of the Peace Conference has been written by Temperley, and since then Toynbee has published annually a 'Survey of International Affairs'. The League of Nations Publications Department issued many valuable books dealing with its work and organisation. Butler's 'Handbook of the League of Nations' is useful for these purposes, also Pollock's 'League of Nations'. The most useful books dealing with events after 1918 are by Delisle Burns, 'Short History of the World, 1918–1928', and Gathorne-Hardy, 'Short History of International Affairs, 1920–1934'. The latter part of Slosson's 'Twentieth Century Europe', and of Mowat's 'History of European Diplomacy 1914 to 1925', will also be found useful. Short books are Ramsay Muir, 'Political Consequences of the Great War', and Bowley, 'Some Economic Consequences of the Great War', both issued in the Home University Library.

Some Important Dates.

1918. November. Armistice obtained by Germany on unfavourable terms.

1919. Peace Conference at Paris, embodying 'League of Nations Covenant'.

1920. First session of League of Nations Assembly at Geneva.
1922. Creation of Court of International Justice.
1933. Japan and Germany left the League of Nations.
1934. Soviet Russia admitted a League member.
1938. Italy gave notice to quit the League.

CHAPTER XXIV

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR: BOLSHEVIKS AND FASCISTS

The Russian Revolution. In the chapter on the First World War we saw that Russia in 1917 quitted the ranks of the Allies. The results which followed in Russia itself are among the most amazing events of all time. In Chapter XI the history of Russia before the war was told, showing the discontent of the Russian people with the incompetence of the Imperial government and the cruel means employed to keep them down. The Russians entered the war with the enthusiastic support of the whole nation. But by 1917 many Russians suspected the Tsar's government of wishing to make peace, with the result that in March of that year a revolution broke out which swept away the existing government in favour of one much more democratic in character. Many Russian revolutionaries returned from exile to live under this more liberal government.

Now in previous years there had been a marked division of opinion among these revolutionary Socialists exiled for opposing the government. Some of them wanted changes to be made gradually, by all classes co-operating in bringing about a revolution in Russia: this party was known as 'Menshevik'. The others wanted the whole Russian aristocracy and middle classes ('bourgeois' as they called them) to be swept violently away, and the rule to be in the hands of the working classes—the industrial artisans and the rural peasants: this party was known as 'Bolshevik'. The Mensheviks came into power after a short period of government by the 'Cadets' (middle-class Liberals). They forced the Tsar to abdicate, and established a republic, introducing many democratic and liberal reforms. This government was welcomed by the Allies, who had always felt uncomfortable in their alliance with an autocratic power; this was particularly felt by the Americans. It began to conduct the war with renewed vigour, under the leadership of a young Socialist named Kerensky: but the Russian armies and people had had enough war. 'Committees of Workmen and Soldiers', known as 'Soviets', came into being, and discipline in the armies was rapidly breaking down. This state of affairs was welcomed by the Germans, who sent the leader of the Bolsheviks, Lenin, across Germany from Switzerland, where he had been in exile, in order to stir up trouble. Now Lenin was a man of astounding ability and strength of character; he took full advantage of the confusion in which he found the country. Against the opinion of his own comrades, he determined in October to take measures of the utmost vigour; by November he had succeeded in overthrowing Kerensky and the Mensheviks. He offered peace to Germany on terms of 'no annexations and no indemnities': but Germany took advantage of Russia's weak condition to impose very severe peace terms. In March 1918, Lenin's principal supporter, Trotsky, had to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, by which about half a million square miles were lost to Russia on her western frontier; most of this territory was organised in a ring of republics under German influence for the time being.

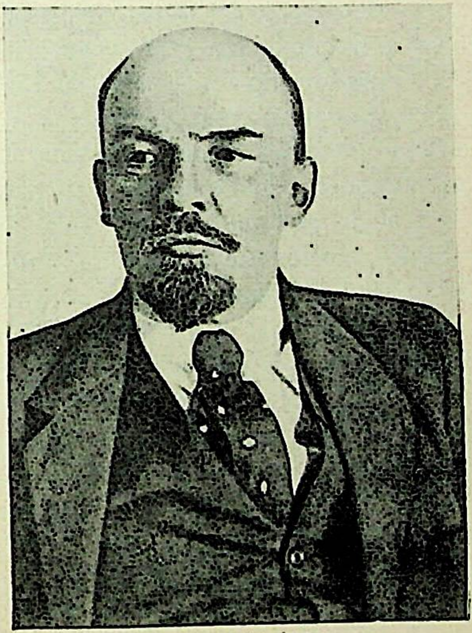
The rule of the Bolsheviks. When the war was over various attempts to overthrow the Bolsheviks were made by leaders of the old aristocracy; some of these attempts had French and British support. But the Russian people disliked foreign intervention, and did not wish for the restoration of the old form of autocratic government; they therefore supported the 'Red' revolutionaries against the 'White' reactionaries, and Lenin remained supreme. He was a firm believer in 'Communism' and 'the class war'; this meant that he was determined to establish universal equality, and to wipe out the aristocracy and middle classes by 'Red Terrorism', that is to say, by the most violent means possible. Like the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution, this Red Terror' was held to be a military necessity. Thousands of these unfortunate people were shot or imprisoned; the Tsar Nicholas and his family had already been brutally murdered in 1918. The peasants rose and seized the lands of the nobles, while the town workers seized the factories. Lenin had not at first been prepared for such extremes of violence, but he agreed with them, and put himself and his party at the head of the movement. A system of secret police known as the 'Cheka' was set up, and everyone suspected on the slightest ground of being a reactionary was imprisoned and not improbably executed.

The Soviet system. Lenin organised Russia into a federation of four* large 'Soviet' republics, two of which were themselves federations. In every town the workers in various industries chose a Soviet, that is, a committee to represent them, while in the country there was a Soviet in every village. Each of these Soviets chose one of their number to represent them in larger districts, and so on up to the 'All-Russia Congress of Soviets'.

---

* Now fifteen.

From this body was chosen a Central Executive Committee, and the principal members of the committee, known as 'Commissars', were given important administrative posts. This organisation had a democratic appearance, but in practice it was nothing of the kind. The real rule was in the hands of Lenin and the Communist party, who saw to it that none but Communists were chosen, at any rate to the larger Soviets; and even these were rigidly controlled by their leaders, especially Lenin, who thus exercised a dictatorship, which he called 'The Dictatorship of the Proletariat'. Proletariat means roughly the working classes as opposed



Lenin (1870-1924)

to the aristocracy and the 'bourgeois'. The vast majority of the Russian proletariat consists of peasants, but immense strides have been made in industry; new industries have been set up, and great new industrial cities built. All important office-holders belong to the Communist party, whose numbers in the earlier years of the Revolution were only about 60,000; membership of this party was carefully restricted. In the years before 1939, however, the membership of the party increased to several millions, as young men and women were drafted in from the Communist youth organisations. But Russia remained an autocracy, based on an 'oligarchy' and a 'bureaucracy', as it was under the Tsars. Lenin, and after him Stalin, were the autocrats, and the Communist party supplied the oligarchy and most of the bureaucracy. The supporters of the Soviet system claim that the Russian workers have 'economic freedom', meaning that their labour is not 'exploited' by 'capitalists'.

The name Russia was now no longer the official title of the vast country which had for so long been under the rule of the Tsars. It became 'The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' and for the remainder of this book will generally be termed 'the U.S.S.R.' or 'the Soviet Union'.

Communist experiment and its breakdown. Lenin at first determined to put into practice his Communist principles, in accordance with the writings of Karl Marx, the German Socialist mentioned in Chapter VII. The state took over all the factories and all the land—in fact, practically all the private property in the country. The products of the factories were to be distributed in equal quantities to all the workers, and in lesser quantities to the 'bourgeois'. The peasants were to receive manufactured goods in exchange for the corn and other fruits of the soil which they grew. Money was to be abolished: this was done by printing such vast quantities of paper notes that they became practically without value: the sum of money that had to be paid for an egg in 1920 would have built eight great cathedrals before the war. But the experiment was a failure. The peasants would not hand over their corn to the Soviet officials; and when it was seized, they stopped growing it, except just enough for their own needs. The output of goods in the factories was very low. The result was that nearly everyone starved, even the peasants themselves, and the whole country was in a terrible condition. Pure Communism had proved itself unworkable in the Soviet Union.

Now Lenin was far too able a man not to understand this. He therefore proceeded in 1921 to construct a 'new economic policy', which once more allowed people to trade with their own possessions, and to make a little profit. This meant that money was to be used once more, and that workers had to be paid wages instead of being supplied with the necessaries of life by the government. The people were saved from universal starvation, but everyone remained very poor; if any trader seemed to be gaining too much profit, he was seized and forced to give up most of it. Trade slowly improved, and by 1929 the production of goods in factories was almost as great as it had been just before the war, though this did not mean prosperity in the country generally, as much money was spent on the upkeep of the army, the provision of military training for everyone, men and women, and the support of a vast number of Bolshevik officials.

Lenin died in 1924, and extraordinary honours are still paid to his tomb in Moscow. There was a fierce quarrel among the leading Bolsheviks as to who should be his successor; finally Stalin became the real ruler of the country, and exercised at least as much power as Lenin did. Bolsheviks still believe in Communism as a principle, but have had to modify it in practice. One of Lenin's great sources of strength had been the support of the peasants, who had taken all the land for themselves. With his new economic policy the richer peasants (known as 'kulaks') had benefited, and were making money and employing labour. But in 1928 Stalin and his advisers put into operation a 'Five Year Plan', the object of which was to organise on a vast scale the whole of the country's industry and agriculture on semi-socialist lines. He made a dead set at the kulaks, and they were exterminated. He tried to organise the other peasants into large farms, either directly under the state, or run by themselves as co-operative enterprises. To this the peasants strongly objected: they slaughtered most of their animals, and refused to grow corn for anything but their own needs, as they had done before at the time of the Communist experiment. But Stalin had their own private stocks seized to provide corn for the towns, and for export. As a result a terrible famine took place in 1933, and the peasants' resistance was broken; many of them had lost their property and often their lives. Most of the Russian peasants nowadays are workers on 'collective farms'. As a result of Stalin's 'economic planning' many new industries were started; the first five year plan met with some success, but the planning of a second had to be devoted largely to warlike ends, as Stalin feared the danger from Nazi Germany. The standard of living was very low, and working conditions were often bad; but the people of the U.S.S.R. believed that if they were left to themselves their children would be much better off than they were. To this end the leaders of the country embarked on a great drive to bring about universal education. Supporters of the Soviet way of life hold that it prevents unemployment such as existed in Britain and America before 1939; but this is partly accounted for by the fact that the U.S.S.R. is mainly an agricultural country, and that its rulers made use of the country's vast natural resources to develop its industries. They forced the people to work very hard, and kept their standard of living low—much lower than the worker in the U.S.A. and in Western Europe; but the youth of the country showed great enthusiasm for the new industries, and the Soviet government did its best to train them in all the technical aspects of industry.

The Soviet Union is not to-day a really Communist state, though it may be described as Socialist. There is no doubt that the workers and peasants are better off than they were under the Tsars, and that they have chances of education and of rising in the world that they did not have in those days. The opponents of the Soviet system assert that just as much progress would have been made if the Tsarist government had been reformed, without the oceans of blood spilt by the Bolsheviks, and without all the fearful misery and starvation which they caused for a number of years; they say that the peasants would not have been deprived of their land, but would have become prosperous and contented. This may or may not be so.

A further point to be noticed about Bolshevik rule is the bitter opposition it showed at first to all forms of organised religion, particularly to the Greek Orthodox Church, which suffered much persecution. It was forbidden by law to give any religious instruction to the young, and religious festivals and the keeping of Sunday were prohibited, though religious services were allowed.

Religion nevertheless remained a strong force in all parts of the country, especially outside the towns, and in the end the authorities recognised this fact, and considerably modified their earlier hostility. No pains are spared to teach the principles of Communism to young and old, and all the schools, newspapers, literature, art, and even amusements are made to serve the purpose of Communist 'propaganda'. The younger generation are undoubtedly growing up enthusiastic believers in their country's new way of life and the future greatness and prosperity of the Soviet Union.

In 1939 Stalin was in a very strong position. He had overcome peasant resistance, which Lenin had not been able to do. He had survived more than one serious attempt to overthrow his power from within, engineered by his old rival Trotsky and many of the best known of the old Bolsheviks. He had somewhat cut down the activities of the secret police, and had allowed a little more civil liberty to the people in general. His economic planning was on the whole a success, though the big problems of transport and housing remained to be solved. Many new industrial centres, far away from the frontier, had been built: the wisdom of this course was manifest when the Germans in 1942 invaded the U.S.S.R., hoping to paralyse her war effort by striking at many of her old industrial centres.

The foreign affairs of the U.S.S.R. According to the writings of Marx, Communist revolution in one country is not of much use; it must be spread world-wide. There existed an association called the 'Comintern', whose headquarters were in Moscow, and whose object it was to spread revolution in all 'capitalist' countries. In many of these countries there are Communist parties, mostly small, organised for this purpose. For some time this was greatly encouraged by the Soviet government, especially in China and India, in the belief that most trouble could be stirred up in those lands among the less educated people, who might be led to think that Communism makes the poor rich and the rich poor. The object of the 'Comintern' was to encourage the 'class war' against the 'bourgeois' (middle class), leading to the abolition of private property and the destruction of 'capitalist' states. Stalin, however, did not give the Comintern much encouragement, partly because he preferred to concentrate on purely internal problems and partly because he needed the friendship of some 'capitalist' countries. When the Soviet Union entered the war in 1941 he suppressed the Comintern. There is little doubt that he would have preferred peace so as to proceed with the great economic planning; but he was determined to be as ready as possible for the war when it came.

Bolshevism in Germany and Hungary. Towards the end of 1918, when the peoples of the Central Powers saw that they had lost the war, they broke out in revolution against their leaders. In Germany the party known as 'Majority Socialists' had always been strong, and was responsible for the overthrow of the Emperor William II and all the kings, grand-dukes, and other potentates who had ruled the various states of Germany. A federation of republics was set up, with a really democratic constitution: the first president of the German Republic was a saddler named Ebert. There was also a party known as 'Minority Socialists', in close alliance with the Russian Bolsheviks. This party attempted armed rebellion, but was soon suppressed by the republican government. In Hungary the Bolsheviks were more successful, and for a short time in 1919 they seized the government and committed several murders; among the victims was the chief minister, Count Tisza. But the people of Hungary did not then want Bolshevism. The attempt ended in failure, and a kind of aristocratic republic resulted.

Benito Mussolini [Vandyk

The Fascist Revolution in Italy. In Italy, too, Communist influence was very strong immediately after the war, and the Italian government seemed powerless against it. Strikes took place on all sides, and Communism looked for a time as if it was going to be successful. But this did not please the Italian people, especially those of them who had fought in the war. These ex-soldiers, led by a young man named Benito Mussolini, brought into being a large and efficient organisation of 'Fascisti', who met Bolshevik revolutionary measures by acts of equal violence. They wore black shirts, to distinguish themselves from the red of the Communists. In 1922 they rose in arms and marched on Rome, where they seized the government and made Mussolini chief minister. He began a thorough reformation of the public services, which in Italy had often been corrupt and inefficient. He obtained the support of the King; and once firmly in authority made it his declared aim to turn Italy into an efficient power of the first rank. He and his supporters did not believe in democratic liberty, and freedom of speech and thought was severely repressed. His example was later followed by Adolf Hitler in Germany, as will be seen in Chapter XXVI. Mussolini's idea was that if the Italians were given efficient government, plenty of economic reform, and great public works, they would no longer want democratic liberty, which he and his Fascist followers held to be completely out of date. They therefore rejected the parliamentary system, and denied to the people of Italy those rights for which they had struggled in the nineteenth century—the free expression of opinion in speech and writing, by individuals and minorities, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and from imprisonment without fair trial. These were among the liberties for which the free nations of the world thought it worth while to make such immense sacrifices in the Second World War.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXIV

This chapter tells the story of the Russian Revolution, from the seizure of power by the Bolshevik party under Lenin to the outbreak of the Second World War. A short sketch of the Fascist revolution in Italy, led by Mussolini, follows—the first sign of an attempted 'new order' in Europe; it was an attack on the principles which had inspired the liberals of the nineteenth century, and it led ultimately to the Second World War. Teachers would do well to emphasise the difference between life under the rule of dictators, with every citizen's life subordinated to what his rulers consider to be the good of the state, and that of the citizen of a democratic country, where the purpose of the state is held to be individual liberty and well-being.

Many books have been written on Bolshevik Russia. 'The Russian Revolution' by Chamberlin, is probably the best account of the first few years; a book with the same title by Lawton is also useful. 'Red Eagle', by Wheatley, a life of the Bolshevik general Voroshilov, sums up the case for and against Bolshevism quite ably. An account of the Soviet system is given by Ross in 'The Russian Soviet Republic', and another, 'The Soviet State', by Maxwell, goes into great detail. Laski's 'Communism' is ably written. Two books strongly favourable to Fascism have been written by Villari, 'The Awakening of Italy', and 'The Fascist Experiment'. Unfavourable books are Salvemini's 'The Fascist Dictatorship', Sturzo's 'Italy and Fascism', and Finer's 'Mussolini's Italy'. For this and subsequent chapters Gunther's 'Inside Europe' gives an interesting account of the various statesmen of Europe, and King-Hall's 'History of our own Times' lays stress on the economic aspect.

Some Important Dates.

1917. Outbreak of the Russian Revolution. 'Cadets' followed by 'Mensheviks' under Kerensky.

November. Kerensky overthrown by the Bolsheviks under Lenin.

1918. Germany dictated the peace of Brest-Litovsk to the Bolsheviks.

Murder of the Russian royal family.

1919. Failure of Bolshevism in Germany and Hungary.

1921. Breakdown of the Communist experiment.

1922. Fascist revolution in Italy. Dictatorship of Mussolini.

1924. Death of Lenin. Succeeded by Stalin.

1929. Settlement of old quarrel between the Kingdom of Italy and the Papacy.

1933. The 'Nazi Revolution' in Germany.

1936. The trials of the Bolshevik conspirators against Stalin.

1937. New Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, giving a little more freedom to its citizens.

CHAPTER XXV

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR: DEPRESSION FOLLOWS RECOVERY

Political problems. It is clear from the terms of the peace settlement that its main features were the reconstruction of states on the basis of national unity and 'self-determination', the universal application of the democratic principles of self-government, and the establishment of a world organisation to promote peace and to make easier the relations between the various states of the world. This settlement did not satisfy everyone, and indeed itself brought forward many great difficulties. Some of the new states were not satisfied with the boundaries allotted to them, and all the defeated countries, particularly Hungary, were very sore at losing so much territory. Disputes between Sweden and Finland, between Poland and Lithuania, and one or two more were successfully settled by means of the League of Nations: a threatened war between Greece and Bulgaria was stopped in time by the same means. In a few cases the League was able to interfere successfully over the treatment of racial minorities, but in other cases direct negotiation between disputing states was employed. There were several small wars before the boundaries of the new Eastern European states were settled. The Hungarian government never ceased in its objection to the boundaries fixed for Hungary by the peace settlement, which had brought several million Hungarians under foreign rule, in Roumania and Czechoslovakia.

A military alliance between those two countries and Yugoslavia, known as the 'Little Entente' and supported by France, however, strongly opposed any revision of boundaries.

In Turkey after the war arose a strong leader named Mustapha Kemal; he objected to the peace terms imposed on his country, particularly to the award of certain lands in Asia Minor to Greece. He took up arms, drove out the Greeks, and succeeded in getting fresh terms made. After this he completely reorganised Turkey on the lines of a nationalist republic: he introduced many features of Western civilisation, and abolished the offices of Sultan of Turkey and Khalif of Islam, much to the dismay of the Muslim world (for some centuries the Sultan of Turkey had held the position of being recognised as the head of all Islam). A similar movement took place in Persia; the British gave up the control which they had exercised there, and also the 'sphere of influence' which they had held over Afghanistan. They changed their mandate over Iraq to a treaty with that country, having set up as king there the Emir Feisul: and in 1932 they recognised its independence. Farther east the spirit of nationalism and self-determination strongly affected India and China, as we have seen in earlier chapters: in both these cases, impatience of European control or influence was strongly manifested, and a similar spirit showed itself, though less strongly at that time, in the French and Dutch East Indies, as well as in the colonies and mandated territories of European powers on the southern shore of the Mediterranean.

Economic reconstruction. The end of the war found all the nations who had been fighting (except the United States), and even some of the neutrals, in a very bad economic position. They were short of food and raw materials, their industries were organised for war purposes, and their demobilised soldiers were looking for re-employment. In Central and Eastern Europe the situation was particularly bad. Unfortunately the politicians who were in charge of the Allies' affairs did not realise that the economic 'reconstruction' of the world was even more important than the political settlement. Several valuable months after the armistice were lost, during which each country concerned itself with its own economic affairs, forgetting that no single country is now an economic unit which can afford to neglect co-operation with the other countries of the world, and that political security depends to a large extent on economic prosperity.

In industrial countries like the United States of America, Britain, and Japan, and in those countries which supplied them with raw materials and food, all seemed well for a time. Stocks of manufactured goods essential to man had run very low, and had to be replaced. Money was made rapidly, and all kinds of schemes for social improvement were begun, in order to make, as Mr. Lloyd George put it, 'a world fit for heroes to live in'. But about the end of 1920 this temporary prosperity came to an end, even in America. In Central and Eastern Europe there were famine conditions; there was certainly a shortage of food and raw materials, and much of the machinery used in manufacture was worn out and needed replacement. But there was hardly any money to pay for these necessaries. All kinds of strange things happened to prices, so that no one in that part of Europe could tell from one day to another what their money was worth, for it changed so frequently in value. It would sometimes happen, as in Austria, that the same sum of money which before the war would have bought enough bread to feed a whole village for a month or more would now scarcely buy a single loaf. International commissions manned by experts were set up to consider these difficult questions; after some time the solutions they reached did something to improve the situation. The years 1921 and 1922 saw much poverty and unemployment everywhere. Indeed, it seemed that Austria and Hungary would collapse altogether. The League of Nations took steps to prevent this collapse by setting up commissions which took charge of all the financial affairs of these two countries. Austria was in a particularly bad condition: her only hope would have seemed to be union with the German republic: but this was prevented by France, who feared that such a union would add too greatly to the strength of her old enemy. The work of these commissions was successful, and the two countries were saved from collapse, Austria in 1923 and Hungary in 1924: it is interesting to note that the 'Little Entente' countries helped greatly in this restoration.

The economic position of Germany, too, was very shaky. It was clear that unless German prosperity was restored, the immense 'reparations' payments could not be made. A conference of statesmen met at Geneva in 1922 to consider this question, among other problems, but little was done. It had become very necessary to find out exactly how much Germany was to pay, and how these payments were to be made. A committee met early in 1924, consisting of business men, bankers, and 'economists', that is to say, of men who had studied financial problems in practice and in theory. This committee was presided over by an American, General Dawes, and it worked out a plan. This plan was later modified; but it had at last become clear that governments had to co-operate with each other for the settlement of economic difficulties and the general restoration of prosperity. Many of them made 'commercial treaties' to encourage trading with each other, and it seemed as if prosperity was slowly coming back to the world from 1925 onwards. Governments were also beginning to settle among themselves the difficult questions of the repayment of money borrowed during the war, and of how the reparation payments from Germany were to be distributed. Even in Russia conditions were improving, and trade relations beginning to be re-established with other countries.

Unfortunately many people, seeing that prosperity was slowly coming back, grew overconfident, and grew or manufactured more things than could as yet be paid for. Many governments, too, hindered trade by putting very high duties on the goods of other countries who wanted to trade with them, fearing that their own subjects would be thrown out of work. The result was that in 1930 the rising prosperity was checked, and once more poverty and unemployment increased. This economic depression lasted several years, and had the most serious consequences.

Eastern Europe. For some years after the peace settlement the smaller states of Europe had no longer the same importance in world politics as they had before the war, as the old idea of the 'balance of power' had gone. But the terms of the peace settlement had by no means satisfied all of them. Roumania was reasonably satisfied, but she held land inhabited mainly by Bulgarians, and included under her rule many Hungarians and Russians. The feeling between defeated Bulgaria and victorious Yugoslavia was never very friendly. The discontent in Hungary has already been mentioned; in this country peace was maintained by an able Prime Minister, Count

Stephen Bethlen, who held office for ten years: but unlike her neighbours, Hungary retained the old system of large estates in the hands of the nobility. In all the others, the great estates were broken up into small holdings owned by peasants—a big change from the old days of 'fire-eating' monarchs and turbulent nobilities. At one time it seemed possible that if the Hungarian problem could be settled, Eastern Europe might gradually settle down into a long period of peace. But the ambitions of Germany put an end to this hope: when Hitler seized Czechoslovakia in 1939, Poland and Hungary could not resist claiming a share, which he allowed for his own purposes. When the Second World War broke out, Eastern Europe was soon drawn into it; only Turkey succeeded in remaining neutral.

Germany. To a considerable extent the recovery of Europe in the years following the First World War depended on the recovery of Germany. Although a clean sweep had been made of all the old royal rulers, many Germans were far from contented with the new democratic republic which took their place. The new rulers did their best to keep their promises and accept the peace settlement; but an impossible burden, that of the payment of reparations, had been placed on their shoulders. Two of them were assassinated, and attempts were made to overthrow the new constitution. Most Germans greatly resented having had to acknowledge responsibility for the outbreak of war, and the various disabilities that had been imposed upon them. Their chief resentment was directed against France, partly on account of the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, but perhaps even more on account of the occupation of the Rhineland. The French on their part suspected the Germans of trying to evade the terms of the peace settlement, and when early in 1923 there seemed to be a danger of this, they sent troops forward and occupied the valley of the Ruhr, a district rich in coal mines. They also did their best to encourage the peoples of the Rhineland and of Bavaria to split off from the German federation, though without success. 1923 was a very critical year, for Germany seemed to be in danger of an economic collapse, and the German 'mark' (their standard coin) lost so much in value that it took many million marks to buy what had been bought for one mark before the war. The republican government of Germany, however, showed itself adroit, if unscrupulous, in saving the situation, and averted the danger by 'stabilising the currency'; but the result was that nearly all the German middle class lost their savings; hence they became bitter, and willingly supported the Nazi movement later on.

Early in 1925 President Ebert died: by a fairly small majority out of a vote of the whole German people Marshal Hindenburg, the popular old soldier, was chosen to fill his place. In the same year the foreign armies of occupation began to be withdrawn, and in 1926 Germany took her place in the League of Nations. She was allowed to build a small fleet, and to possess a small but highly trained army. German industrialists set themselves with their usual skill and hard work to get back their place in the world's trade, and until a great depression came in 1930 they seemed to be succeeding. But Germans did not cease to resent the position of inferiority in which the terms of the Versailles treaty placed them, and did all they could to get back equality.

France. The sufferings of France during the war were heavier than those of any other country, except Russia. Immediately after the war she had to reconstruct her devastated countryside and ruined towns. The French attitude towards Germany during the sitting of the Peace Conference and afterwards was therefore one of distrust and suspicion, an attitude confirmed by the obvious desire of many Germans to evade the terms of the settlement. Therefore France kept up compulsory military service and a large army, and firmly supported the 'Little Entente' as being a check on Germany. The drastic action taken in the Ruhr valley was due to Poincaré, who hated Germany bitterly. But when he fell from power the relations between the two countries improved for a time, and the Locarno agreement was made.

Owing to the terrible casualties which French armies had suffered during the First World War, France could not recover from its effects as quickly as most other countries. The French were bitterly disappointed when they did not get from the United States of America and from Britain the guarantees of security for which they had hoped. They built on their eastern frontier an enormously strong line of fortifications, known as the 'Maginot Line', which they considered impregnable; events were to show that they were wrong.

During the years between the two World Wars, France seemed to be in a position of great strength; but her strength was more apparent than real. Her government and politics were in an unsatisfactory state, and in 1934 some shocking scandals in public life came to light. There were many serious strikes, some involving bloodshed; and the Communist party was gaining many supporters in the towns. This alarmed the wealthier classes; and although the vast majority of Frenchmen viewed with fear and disgust the growing strength of Germany under Hitler (see next chapter), there was a small but influential party which was in favour of a friendly approach to that country. This party preferred the principles of Fascism to those of Communism, and was to prove a serious weakness to France after the outbreak of the Second World War, which saw, to the surprise of most people, the remarkable collapse of that great country.

The Great Depression. Though between 1925 and 1929 it looked as if prosperity was slowly coming back, this was not really the case. Many people became over-confident, and produced crops and manufactured articles in greater quantities than other people were willing to buy. Many governments, too, hindered trade by putting high customs duties on the goods of countries who wanted to trade with their countries, fearing that their own subjects would be thrown out of work. For these and other reasons the rising prosperity was checked. In October 1929, the stock market in New York began to collapse; then began a great economic crisis which swept rapidly all over the world, which had not really recovered from it when the Second World War broke out in 1939. It can fairly be said that this economic crisis was one of the main causes of that catastrophe.

Everywhere, and particularly in the United States of America, where over-confidence had been greatest, millions of people were out of work. Savings were swept away and hundreds of businesses were ruined. Countries which had borrowed money from other countries could not pay it back. Prices fell quickly everywhere, so that the growers of crops such as grain, tea, coffee, sugar, and rubber found themselves with big stocks on their hands which they could not sell, except at a loss. The trade of the world fell by about a half. Trading is based on confidence between traders and trading countries, so that they are willing to give each other 'credit': this is usually arranged by banks. But confidence disappeared and everywhere banks began to fail, especially in Germany and Austria. The whole credit system of the world was shaken, and even the famous Bank of England came near to failure.

In Great Britain the situation was saved by the formation of a 'National Government' under Ramsay MacDonald consisting of members from all three parties, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour, which took vigorous action. Its first act was to take Great Britain off the 'gold standard'—that is to say, to relieve the Bank of England of its obligation to pay gold in exchange for its banknotes, as it always had in the past. London was the great financial centre of Europe, and many countries, in the end practically all, were compelled to follow the example set. The new government set to work to cope with the difficult and dangerous situation. Foreign goods were prevented from competing with British-made goods in Britain by high customs duties, and Great Britain ceased to be a 'free-trade' country. The two million unemployed were kept from starving by 'the dole'—a small weekly payment just enough for this. The country was solidly behind the National Government, and a slow recovery began.

In the United States everyone was in deep despair. But its new President, Franklin Roosevelt, made a heroic attempt at recovery. His 'New Deal', as it was called, was partly successful only; but general confidence was regained. Nothing could bring back the prosperity of the 'twenties, for it had been based on over-confidence: but things improved, though more slowly than in Great Britain. By about 1934 the world was beginning to recover; but in the meantime, and largely as the result of this 'slump', many remarkable changes were taking place in Europe and in the Far East. These changes were devastating in their effects, and led directly to the outbreak of what people had hoped would never come again—another World War.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXV

This chapter gives a brief sketch of events since the signing of the peace treaties. The world situation in the first six or seven years was very difficult and delicate. Statesmen, especially those of the greater powers, were unwilling to make use of the League of Nations for dealing with the problems which arose, and preferred either the old methods of diplomacy or else conferences summoned for special purposes. During these years there was also a serious danger of economic collapse in Central Europe, but this was narrowly averted. The general situation greatly improved after 1925, and Germany became an important member of the League of Nations. But the improvement did not last and the great economic depression which followed led directly to events which ended in a second World War. It threw back the economic recovery of the world (for it was a world-wide depression), and fostered those forces which reacted against liberty and peace. The mainspring of these was *aggressive nationalism*, both of the political and economic variety. With the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany, as will be shown in Chapter XXVI, the situation grew rapidly worse, and ended in another World War.

The books referred to at the end of Chapter XXIII will be found of equal use in the study of this chapter. Beard, 'Cross Currents in Europe To-day (1923)', and Zimmern, 'Europe in Convalescence (1922)', throw light on the situation as it existed in the years immediately following the war; on the economic side Keynes' 'Economic Consequences of the Peace (1920)' is worth reading in the light of what has happened since its publication. Benn's 'Europe since 1914' and Carr's 'International Relations since the Peace Treaties' both provide a useful general account.

Some Important Dates.

1923. French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr valley.
War between Greece and Italy averted by Ambassadors' Conference.
1924. 'Dawes plan' for reparations payments.
1925. War between Greece and Bulgaria averted by League of Nations.
1926. Germany joined League of Nations.
1927. Unsuccessful naval disarmament conference at Geneva.
1928. Briand-Kellogg pact for outlawry of war signed by nearly all the countries of the world.
1929. Great economic depression began.

CHAPTER XXVI

EVENTS LEADING TO THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Troubled 'Thirties. During the ten years which began with the great economic depression in 1929, a series of events took place which led up to what people after the end of the First World War thought could never happen again—the outbreak of another and greater World War.

It had been hoped that the League of Nations would prevent anything like this from happening. But that organisation had never been fully trusted or believed in by some of its members. The hope of those who founded and supported it was that war would never be used again as 'an instrument of national policy', which means that disputes between countries would be settled by agreement or by referring to an impartial arbitrator, or by a majority decision of the Assembly of the League. But few nations were willing to agree to this and we shall see that three of them, Germany, Italy, and Japan, were far from giving up the idea of making war in order to achieve their aims and ambitions.

The absence of the United States of America and of the Soviet Union, the half-hearted support of Germany and Italy, and the fact that so many countries preferred to deal with each other by the old methods of diplomacy, tended to make the League of Nations much less effective than had been hoped.

The U.S.S.R. did join the League in 1934. But the economic depression threw many countries back on their own resources. The three aggressive states of Japan, Germany, and Italy quitted the League in that order, and by 1938 its failure was generally recognised. These three powerful countries all rearmed as thoroughly and as speedily as they could: and eventually, as we shall see, they were drawn into a kind of alliance which was known as the 'Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis'. None of the three could be described as democratic countries. Many of the smaller countries of Europe imitated them up to a point by doing away with democratic institutions and setting up dictatorships, so that by 1939 only Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Finland, and Switzerland remained in Europe as true democracies.

The result was that, while most of the smaller countries did their best to remain neutral, so as to keep out of the war they feared was coming (in this they were to fail), Britain and France were drawn together against the three Axis Powers. The policy of the Soviet Union remained an unknown quantity—though all three Axis Powers proclaimed themselves the sworn enemies of Communism. The United States remained determinedly neutral.

The Nazi Revolution in Germany. In Germany the effects of the depression were very severe, and the leaders of the country declared that they could not possibly go on paying reparations or the other heavy debts which Germany owed, especially to the United States of America: the country was faced with bankruptcy, millions were unemployed, and everyone lost confidence in their leaders. A party known as the 'National Socialists' took advantage of the crisis to overthrow the existing leaders: it was very loud in denouncing the inequalities from which Germany was still suffering, and got much popular support.

Its leader was an astounding individual named Adolf Hitler. He was Austrian by birth, of humble origin, and had fought in the German army during the First World War, without rising higher than the rank of corporal. But he, like many others of German race, never ceased to harbour in his mind the same sort of ambitions as had inspired the leaders of Germany to make war in 1914, to resent bitterly the defeat which she had suffered, and to make plans for revenge. By what can only be described as a series of amazing accidents, he was able to put all those ideas into practice. As early as 1923, stirred up by the French occupation of the Ruhr, he attempted a revolution; it failed, and he was put into prison. While there he wrote a book called 'Mein Kampf' (My Struggle) which laid down a programme of what he wanted Germany to do in order to reverse the results of the First World War. On his release he published the book, and proceeded with alarming success to put his programme into practice.

The essence of his methods was calculated violence and brutality, together with a total disregard of all the best ideals of human nature. He succeeded by sheer force of personality in impressing his ideas and his methods firmly on his followers, whom he formed into a semi-military body wearing brown shirts as a uniform, and known as Nazis (an abbreviation of 'National Socialist Workers' Party'). Owing to the economic depression, his movement came at the right moment for success, as the depression was felt in Germany as severely as in any part of Europe. His book was widely read, and its ideas appealed to that great body of Germans who felt that their defeat in the First World War was a disgrace to the honour of their country; this body included the still powerful military caste, which the Germans for many years had been accustomed to obey. He also got the backing of the powerful leaders of industry and finance, who for reasons of their own desired the downfall of the republican government. Both these groups of leaders, the military and the capitalist, thought that they could use Hitler and the Nazi party to further their own ends; but finally he proved too strong for both of them, and used them to further his. His book made a special appeal to the youth of Germany, whose support the republican government had never succeeded in attracting; those of them who were not drawn towards Communism became enthusiastic Nazis, and they were the majority. The middle classes, badly hit by the economic depressions of 1923 and 1930, were not inclined to offer much opposition; and in 1933 Hitler and his party won a general election and came into power. President Hindenburg, after some hesitation, appointed Hitler Chancellor, and the stage was set for the tragic series of events which culminated in the Second World War.

Japan and China. The first big signs of trouble, however, came in the Far East. It had suited the rulers of Japan to fall in with the ideas of the League of Nations for ten years after the end of the First World War, and to give up for the time being the demands on China which they had made while that war was going on. But events in that country gave them the opportunity of putting into effect schemes which they had had in mind for many years, which were intended to bring about the supremacy of Japan over Eastern Asia, and the end of all European or American influence in, or trade with, China. They viewed the rise of Chiang Kai-shek, and the union of Manchuria and China, with apprehension (*see* Chapter XVII). They wished to use the teeming masses of China as the market for their manufactured goods, and to exploit her great wealth of raw materials to supply their factories.

Japan had been hit badly by the economic depression, by the facts that her large foreign trade was diminishing, and that countries were putting high import duties on her goods, which were usually low-priced owing to cheap labour. Therefore in 1931 she launched an attack on Manchuria, on the ground that her interests in the South Manchurian Railway, over which she had been given control in 1905, were in danger from the Chinese. The whole of this rich province was rapidly overrun, and the Japanese set up a new state, independent of China, but really under Japanese control. It was called 'Manchukuo', and they placed on the throne a 'puppet' ruler who was a member of the old imperial house of China. A strong protest was made to the League of Nations by the Chinese government at Nanking, and the League decided against Japan, but none of its members were willing to take vigorous action. Japan defied the League and resigned her membership: in 1933 she incorporated into Manchukuo the neighbouring province of Jehol. Fighting between Chinese and Japanese troops took place there, and also in the great treaty port of Shanghai.

The second stage of Japanese aggression was on an even greater scale, and was partly due to the Chinese attempt to 'boycott' Japanese goods. In 1937 there was some trouble on the Manchukuo frontier between Japanese and Chinese troops; when Chiang Kai-shek refused to withdraw his men, fighting broke out on a large scale without any declaration of war—the Japanese called it 'the China incident'. The Japanese seized nearly the whole of North China—except Outer Mongolia, where the Russians had great influence; they captured Shanghai, where much damage was done to the 'International Settlement', the headquarters of foreign trade with China; and they advanced far inland in Central and South China, driving Chiang Kai-shek from his capital city of Nanking. They inflicted hideous cruelties on the Chinese in the occupied territories; but the Chinese army and irregular soldiers (called 'guerrillas') put up a brave fight under Chiang Kai-shek from his new capital at Chungking, in Western China. Eventually this struggle became merged in the Second World War. There is no doubt that the failure of the countries belonging to the League of Nations to interfere with Japan clearly showed the aggressive nations the real weakness of the League, and encouraged Germany and Italy to follow Japan's example in first defying and then quitting it.

Italy and Abyssinia. Although Mussolini often declared that he did not believe in peace, he behaved reasonably well in international affairs for some years. But he was never satisfied with the terms of the peace treaties, not without some justification, as Italy had received no mandates over what had formerly been German colonial territory in Africa. For a time he worked with Great Britain and France against Nazi Germany; and he regarded Italy as the special protector of Austria against Nazi aggression; he also favoured the claim of Hungary to a revision of the peace settlement.

But in 1934 there came a change. Mussolini had made up his mind to pursue a more active foreign policy, especially as he felt it necessary to distract the minds of the Italian people from the bad economic conditions into which they were falling after the depression, from which they had suffered very severely indeed. In that year, taking advantage of a frontier dispute near the Abyssinian border of Italian Somaliland, he prepared to invade Abyssinia. This action was popular with the Italian people, who had never forgotten the heavy defeat which the Abyssinians had inflicted on them as long ago as 1896. In 1935 the invasion began. Armed with modern weapons, the Italians had little trouble, apart from the difficult nature of the country, in defeating the untrained and ill-armed troops of the Emperor, Haile Selassie. By the end of 1936 the whole of his territory was declared to be annexed to the Italian colonial empire.

The Emperor escaped; he had previously appealed to the League of Nations, and that body, after some hesitation, decided to impose 'economic sanctions' upon Italy—that is, the members of the League were not to trade in many commodities with Italy; but trade in oil, the most important commodity of all, was not forbidden, as they feared that sanctions against this trade would provoke a general European war. France in particular was anxious not to provoke Mussolini too far.

Sanctions therefore proved useless, and merely had the effect of driving Italy to resign her membership of the League. All along Mussolini had the support of Hitler, and the effect was to incline him to look much more favourably on a ruler whose ideas so closely resembled his own. In 1936 an agreement was made between the two dictators, known as the 'Rome–Berlin Axis'. Its real object was to challenge the supreme position which Britain and France held in Europe as the result of the First World War, if need be by another war. Soon afterwards, Japan joined what was known as the 'Anti-Comintern Pact', directed against the spread of Communism, but in secret a military understanding. This in the end developed into the three-power Axis—Berlin–Rome–Tokyo.

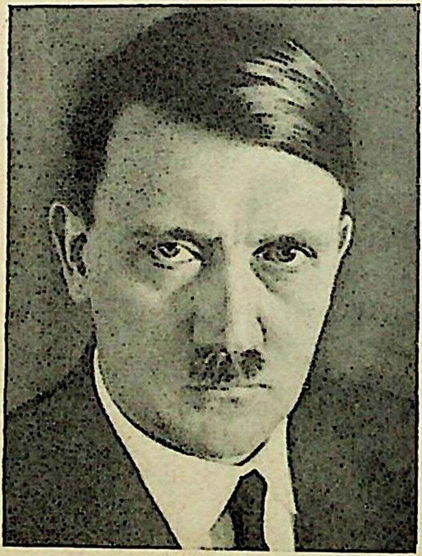
The Spanish Civil War. Spain had been neutral during the First World War, but during the 'twenties the country was in a disturbed condition. For a time there was a dictatorship, but by 1931 the Spanish Liberal and Socialist parties had been successful in getting rid of their King, Alfonso, and in establishing a republic. The new government attempted many reforms, and did its best to reduce the extensive powers of the great landed proprietors and of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1933 this government fell from power; in the next year revolutionary strikes broke out, which were forcibly suppressed, and many of the Liberal and Socialist leaders were arrested. However, in 1936 they won a general election; but their opponents were determined not to let them enjoy the results of their success. An insurrection, led by a general named Franco, broke out in Spanish Morocco, and soon spread to the mainland. Most of the Army, the Church, and certain of the more backward districts supported Franco, while the town workers, the Navy, and the peoples of Catalonia and Navarre were for the republican government. The civil war which ensued was fought savagely on both sides, and many atrocities were committed. Franco's troops were successful at first, but were later held up by the very gallant defence of Madrid, the capital city.

At this stage foreign countries began to take a hand. The Soviet Union did her best to supply the republican government with war materials, and an 'International Brigade' of Socialist and other sympathisers from various countries fought bravely in the defence of Madrid. But the aid furnished to Franco by Germany and Italy was far more effective, both in men and in munitions. For a time it seemed as if the Spanish war might start a general European one; but France and Great Britain, with the backing of the United States of America, did their best to prevent it from spreading. A general agreement was reached that foreign countries should not intervene; although Germany and Italy pretended to join in this, they did not cease to provide Franco with help in various underhand ways, and made little attempt to withdraw their 'volunteer' troops. German aeroplanes had been used to bomb Spanish towns, and Italian submarines had torpedoed ships from other countries bringing cargoes to republican ports. In reality, therefore, the non-intervention agreement operated against the republicans; this became clear by the end of 1938, by which time Franco had gained a complete victory; both Hitler and Mussolini openly boasted of the part which their soldiers, sailors, and airmen had played in this victory. From their point of view the Spanish war had given them the opportunity of trying out those deadly weapons of modern warfare, the tank and the bombing aeroplane; and they had gained in the new dictator of Spain a possible ally for the war they intended to make.

Hitler's way to war. We read earlier in this chapter how Hitler and the Nazi party succeeded in getting full control over Germany. Once he became Chancellor, he determined to put into effect the programme he had written down in his book, 'Mein Kampf'. His first care was to build up the military strength of Germany by a great programme of rearmament, at first secret. He knew this would please President Hindenburg and the military caste, and that it would also employ the millions of workers thrown out of employment in consequence of the economic depression: equally, it would suit the great industrialists, and appeal to the average German's national pride. Especially he began, with the aid of his brutal lieutenant, Goering, to create an immense air force. All this was quite contrary to the terms of the peace settlement, but neither Britain nor France saw fit to interfere.

Inside Germany he began by a savage attack on Communists and on Jews; against these his private army, the Nazi 'storm troopers', known as S.A., exercised the most brutal cruelties. Many were murdered, thousands more were sent to the living death of a 'concentration camp'. But this conduct had the approval of most Germans; in any case the minority, with very few exceptions, were too terrified even to protest. In 1934 Hitler struck at certain disaffected leaders in the Nazi party itself; and his old comrade Roehm and several hundred others were murdered out of hand.

He lost little time in getting rid of all democratic institutions; all power was to be in his hands as Führer (Leader), enforced by the S.A., another picked body of ruffians called the S.S., and the secret police, known as the 'Gestapo'. There was a strict censorship of books and papers, and practically all liberty was taken away by a series of repressive laws, leaving every German helpless to put up any kind of opposition to the dictator: not that many wanted to do so, for Hitler rapidly became fanatically worshipped as a national hero. To make his power permanent, he devised a scheme of Nazi education, which had to be taught in all the schools: its object was to make certain that the rising generation of Germans would have no other political beliefs than those laid down in 'Mein Kampf'. From their earliest years children were taught to revere the Führer, to train for war, and even to spy on their own parents and report anything they said or did against the Nazi government. They were taught that the Germans were a master race, 'Aryans' or 'Nordics', whose destiny was the conquest and domination of the world: they were taught to hate and despise the Jews, upon whose shoulders was thrown the blame for the loss of the First World War, and for most of the evils from which Germany had suffered after 1918. Thus, with so many Germans supporting him, and all the rising generation taught to be 'good Nazis', Hitler's power inside Germany was supreme, especially after he succeeded the aged Hindenburg as President on his death in 1934. The Jews were far too cowed to resist; thousands of them, including eminent writers, musicians, and scientists—the great mathematician Einstein, for example—fled the country: those who remained were debarred from all honourable occupations, and their lot was made as miserable as possible. This applied to anyone with the least trace of Jewish blood.



Adolf Hitler [*E.N.A.*

Supreme in Germany, Hitler was now able to turn his attention to foreign affairs, and to begin on the road leading to war. He withdrew from the Disarmament Conference in 1933, and from the League of Nations; and he proceeded to flout, one after another, the terms of the Versailles treaty. In 1935 he reimposed compulsory military service, in which he had the enthusiastic support of the Army leaders: these had given the small German army permitted by the treaty so intensive a training that they were able rapidly to train others, and create a huge and efficient force. His economic policy was to make Germany 'self-sufficient' in case war came; that is, to produce inside Germany as many goods and materials as possible, and to use German money abroad to accumulate great stores of those raw materials which could not be produced in Germany—for instance, petrol and rubber. To produce and to pay for all this the people of Germany had to work very hard, and to reduce considerably their standard of living: but, as Goering told them, 'Guns are better than butter'.

By 1936 he was ready to move, and to begin on the first stage of the plans so clearly stated in his book, the object of which was to establish a single Germany, to include all people of German birth, with the lands in which they lived; to obtain, by any means, force and fraud included, 'Lebensraum', that is, room for the growing population of Germany to expand at the expense of 'lesser races'—particularly the Slavs of Central and Eastern Europe; and to get back the old German colonies, with more if possible. The statesmen of Europe did not take these ambitions with nearly enough seriousness, and did not realise that behind them lay the dream of world domination.

The first step, and perhaps the most daring, was the military reoccupation of the Rhineland with his new army. He took it against the advice of his generals, who could not believe that it would not be actively opposed by France and Britain; but he was right. This success gave him great confidence, and showed him how to handle the statesmen of those two countries; his method was to delude them with promises of peace, and assurances that he had no hostile designs against anyone. He now proceeded to fortify the Rhineland strongly by the 'Siegfried Line', intended to make Germany reasonably secure from invasion from the west.

His next step was to incorporate Austria into the German 'Reich'. That country had a stormy history after 1918; in 1934 the Austrian Chancellor, Dollfuss, had taken military measures against the Socialists in Vienna, and had set up something like a dictatorship, directed against both the Socialists and the Austrian Nazis—for it was a part of Hitler's plan to set up and encourage Nazi parties in German lands not yet brought under his rule. In 1936 Dollfuss was brutally murdered by Nazis, at Hitler's secret instigation, though the latter had to disown this for the time being. The next Chancellor, Schuschnigg, at first received backing from Mussolini, and was able to keep the Austrian Nazis down for two years. But when that backing was withdrawn, and Mussolini became Hitler's ally, he was helpless. In 1938 Hitler sent for Schuschnigg, and threatened him till he resigned his office; the German army then poured into Austria, and Hitler declared it a part of the single indivisible Germany.

He now declared that he had no further territorial ambitions; but there remained two places in Europe where people of German race lived under foreign rule. In the north-west corner of Czechoslovakia were about three millions of them, in a region known as the 'Sudetenland'; the others were in the Polish Corridor, a strip of land leading to Danzig, a great Baltic port inhabited by Germans but administered by the League of Nations (see Chapter XXIII).

In each of these districts he pursued the same kind of policy—the setting up of Nazi parties, brutal and lawless, and a campaign in the German press to spread reports that Germans in these districts were being ruthlessly persecuted.

Czechoslovakia was a strong military power, in alliance with France, and occupying a very good strategic position as against Germany; but the taking of Austria weakened this position, and the country was now surrounded on three sides. It seemed, therefore, that any direct attack would provoke a general war. In order to prevent this, the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, flew to see Hitler personally in September 1938, and at Munich, in conjunction with the French, gave way to him. Germany was allowed to annex the Sudetenland, in return for a promise that there would be no more aggression—a promise which Hitler had not the slightest intention of keeping. This meant that Czechoslovakia had lost a strong military frontier, and was now powerless against Germany. The Munich Settlement was made between Germany, Britain, France, and Italy. Czechoslovakia did not take part in the conference, nor was any invitation to join in sent to the Soviet Union, though that country had undertaken to send military aid to Czechoslovakia if France was willing to do the same. Not to do so was a grievous error on the part of British and French statesmen. It may be noted that Poland and Hungary also received territory from the dismembered country.

The policy of Britain and France was called 'appeasement'. Either it was hoped that the achievement of at least some of Hitler's aims would satisfy him, or else the policy was simply one of gaining time. At any rate, it became clear early in 1939 that it had failed; for in March Hitler suddenly ordered the German army to march into what remained of Czechoslovakia, and calmly annexed it. This was an act of wanton aggression, without any justification whatsoever. It was followed by similar action taken by the other partner of the Axis, Italy, whose forces marched into and occupied the small Balkan country of Albania.

It now became clear to the peoples of France and Britain that war was more than likely. All possible steps were taken to strengthen their armed forces and to increase the supply of munitions as rapidly as possible: in Britain, even conscription was introduced. Guarantees of assistance were given to several European countries who might be threatened by the aggressors, and a definite alliance was made between Britain and Turkey; but the best guarantee of all, a military understanding with the U.S.S.R., was not reached.

It was now obvious that Hitler had selected Poland as his next victim. He began to employ the same tactics as he had against Czechoslovakia—stirring up the Nazi party in Danzig, shrieks in the German Press and wireless against imaginary Polish atrocities upon inoffensive Germans, and finally a demand for the incorporation of Danzig into Germany, and a way through the Polish Corridor to reach it.

This time, however, the Western powers were not deceived; they entered into negotiations with Russia, hoping to enlist on their side the strength of that powerful country. Here, however, they were to be disappointed.

Stalin had not got over the snub given by neglecting him over the business of Czechoslovakia; he was not satisfied with the attitude of the Poles, who apparently distrusted him as much as they did Hitler—for in the new Poland had been included several million Ruthenians, who were Russian rather than Polish by race; furthermore, his armies do not seem to have been quite ready for war. He seems to have believed, and rightly, that the U.S.S.R. would some day be attacked by Germany ('Mein Kampf' was clear on this point), and he preferred to have the time of this attack put off until Germany had been weakened by conflict with the Western powers. Hence those powers were surprised and horrified when in August 1939 he concluded a 'non-aggression pact' with Hitler. This was almost as much of a shock to Germany's friends who had signed the Anti-Comintern Pact against the U.S.S.R.; but they had very little time to think it over, for on September 1st Hitler's armies invaded Poland, and two days later both Britain and France declared war.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXVI

This chapter shows how the world was plunged again into war by the leaders of aggressive nationalism, as the peace settlement of 1919 gradually broke down, and the League of Nations failed. This force, which in the nineteenth century was so closely allied with liberty, now turned against it, first suppressing the liberty of the peoples of the aggressive states themselves, and afterwards threatening that of other countries. It shows the total disregard of all moral principles of truth and virtue by those leaders, above all by Hitler.

Some Important Dates.

1931. Japan invaded Manchuria.
1933. Hitler established the 'Third Reich'.

1935. Italy invaded Abyssinia.

1936–9. Spanish Civil War.

1936. Re-militarisation of the Rhineland.

1937. Japan invaded China.

1938. Austria and the Sudetenland forcibly included in Germany.

1939. Czechoslovakia invaded and absorbed by Germany. Poland invaded by Germany: beginning of Second World War.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER

The Second World War lasted for six years, during which it spread over nearly the whole globe: very few countries were able to remain neutral—in Europe only Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and the Irish Republic. It is quite impossible in one short chapter to give anything but a very general idea of this tremendous world catastrophe and its immediate effects.

The invasion of Poland was soon over: it indicated the pattern of future campaigns. Warsaw, its capital city, was first bombed from the air and almost destroyed, while columns of armoured vehicles, moving with great speed, overran the country and defeated its less well armed troops. The Soviet Union sent in its armies and occupied the eastern part of Poland. Britain had expected that bombing of capital cities from the air would happen as soon as war broke out, but this was not the case. During the winter of 1939–40 very little more happened on land. The British army crossed the Channel and took up positions on the left of the French army, which was in position behind the shelter of what it thought to be an unbreakable fortified system of defences, known as the Maginot Line.

The countries of the British Commonwealth rallied to the mother country, though there was some opposition to this in South Africa, and Southern Ireland remained neutral. Surprisingly, neither Italy nor Japan, the other members of the 'Axis', came in at first; and the U.S.A. began by professing strict neutrality. The U.S.S.R.

remained neutral, but picked a quarrel with Finland, made an unprovoked attack on that small country, invaded it and forced the Finns to give them some territory and other concessions.

The defeat of France. In the spring of 1940 the Germans decided to launch a tremendous westward attack. They began with entirely unprovoked but successful invasions of the neutral countries of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg and though the British tried to help Norway, and landed troops, they were driven out. (The British people became very angry with their rulers about the conduct of the war, and the result was that Mr. Winston Churchill was called upon to become Prime Minister instead of Mr. Chamberlain, at the head of a Cabinet formed out of all three political parties, Conservative, Labour, and Liberal: his inspiring leadership and remarkable ability did much to win the war.) The German attacks by air and by land on those countries were completely successful, and it was soon seen that, owing to their long and well-thought-out preparations, their methods of waging war and their equipment for the purpose were in many ways superior to those of the French and British, and of course to those of the small nations whom they had so unjustly invaded. In May the German armies broke through the French line, and in a campaign carried out with tremendous speed and skill they defeated the armies of the Allies, forcing France to surrender, while the British army only just managed to escape across the Channel from Dunkirk in any boats that could be collected together, leaving behind nearly all its guns and equipment, saved only by British sea and air power. At this stage Italy came into the war, which meant that Britain alone had to face these two powerful 'Axis' nations without any allies but the other Commonwealth countries. After only six weeks of fighting, the Germans occupied most of France, leaving about one-third of it to be governed by Marshal Pétain, the old French soldier, who had made peace as best he could with the conquerors.

The Commonwealth alone against the Axis. It seemed to be only a matter of time before Britain too would be invaded: but there was the narrow English Channel to be crossed, and the British were far superior to the Germans at sea, though the latter continued to do great damage to British shipping with their submarines and mines. The Germans, however, thought that they could get over this naval inferiority if only they could get the mastery of the air. In July the German Air Force (known as the Luftwaffe) began to attack British ports and airfields: but the British Royal Air Force with their 'Hurricane' and 'Spitfire' fighter planes fought back magnificently in what is called 'The Battle of Britain'—it really was 'The Battle *for* Britain'—and inflicted such heavy losses on the Luftwaffe that Hitler, who had his land forces all ready for invasion, decided against it: this was a great victory for the British. The Germans now took to night bombing of British cities, ports, towns and even villages, and did fearful destruction: the British bombers retaliated, and did what they could—a great deal—to damage German military installations and factories.

The British now had to meet the attacks of the Italians in North and East Africa; Italy had quite a good fleet and air force, also a large army, which began attacks on Egypt and Kenya. In spite of military weakness at home, Winston Churchill decided to send British troops to Africa. The British fleet in the Mediterranean Sea was too much for the Italians, and the British armies, aided by troops from Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India, inflicted a series of defeats on the Italian armies, driving them out of Kenya, invading and capturing Abyssinia, and forcing them back a long way from the western frontier of Egypt.

But early in 1941 the Germans had, by a mixture of threats and invasions, brought all the countries of the Balkan peninsula under their sway, except for the small area around Constantinople which belonged to Turkey, who maintained her neutrality until nearly the end of the war. The British sent troops to Greece, which had before this successfully resisted an Italian invasion; but when the Germans came south-eastwards, these had to be withdrawn, and the Germans even captured the Greek island of Crete by an invasion of airborne troops. They were now able to send an army to help the Italians in North Africa, and the British were forced to retreat as far as the frontier of Egypt, from which they had started to drive back the Italians.

By the middle of 1941, then, after one and three-quarter years of warfare, the European Axis powers, with Germany very much the senior partner, were in control of the whole of Continental Europe except Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, European Turkey and the Iberian peninsula, where lay the very friendly power of Spain, and, of course, the U.S.S.R., with whom Germany had signed a 'non-aggression pact'. But now took place the first of two events of immense importance which were to end in the total defeat of the Axis powers—Hitler decided to break this pact and to invade the U.S.S.R.

The coming in of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. This gave Britain, which had been for a whole year carrying on the struggle almost alone, a powerful ally, though for the time being the armoured strength of Germany drove deep into the Soviet Union's territory, reaching but failing to capture the two great cities of Moscow and Leningrad; Soviet armies were often defeated, but never surrendered in large numbers. Many of Hitler's best generals thought at the time that he was making a big mistake in invading the U.S.S.R. at all.

The President of the United States of America, Franklin Roosevelt, and many of the American people, viewed with alarm the successes of the anti-democratic forces; they supplied Britain with masses of war material, at first on payment, but later on by what was known as 'lend-lease', which was more like a gift. However, American feeling was still against taking an actual part in the war, although in August, 1941, the 'Atlantic Charter', an agreement between Britain and the U.S.A. stating the principles of freedom in which both countries firmly believed, was drawn up and signed. But at the end of the year came a most unexpected event: Japan, which had already taken advantage of the helplessness of France to occupy military positions in Indo-China, now suddenly struck, not at the British but at the Americans, and in December, 1941, by a sudden bombing attack without any declaration of war, rendered temporarily helpless the fine American Pacific fleet, which lay at anchor in Pearl Harbour, Hawaii. Britain at once declared war on Japan, but having her hands already full in Europe and Africa, could not do much. The Japanese had powerful military, naval and air forces, and soon captured the British territories of Hong Kong, Malaya—including the great naval base of Singapore—and Burma. Not only these, but the Dutch East Indies and the Philippine Islands, the latter of which were garrisoned by American troops, fell.

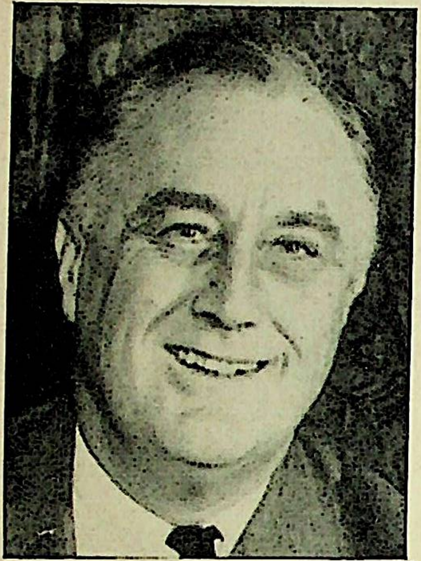
into their hands; they invaded other islands in the Pacific Ocean, including the large island of New Guinea; and all this was done in a few months. The Japanese seemed to have succeeded completely in their aims: but what they really did was to seal the fate of all the Axis powers by bringing that immensely powerful country, the United States of America, into the war. This country had resources of money and manufacturing power far beyond any other country in the world, as well as vast reserves of man-power which produced great armies and other fighting services, and immense technical skill. Once these were developed to their fullest extent, the victory of the Allies was assured.

The Allies win in Europe. But it was a long process. In the West, the British forces on the Egyptian border smashed the German and Italian armies in Africa at the decisive battle of El Alamein (1942) and drove them back along the coast, until, with an Anglo-American army that had landed in the north-west of Africa, they were able to complete their rout, in Tunisia; they then proceeded to invade first Sicily and then Italy, so that the Italians gave in at the end of 1943. In 1942 the German armies which had invaded the U.S.S.R. were held up by the fine defence of Stalingrad, on the great river Volga; and at the beginning of the next year the besieging army suffered a severe defeat in front of that town. Then began the German retreat, which was to end in their being driven out of the U.S.S.R. altogether, and back into their own country.

At sea the few big ships the Germans had were gradually destroyed by the British Navy, but their submarines and aircraft inflicted fearful damage on Allied shipping, causing considerable loss of life and of tonnage, and at times seriously endangering the supply of food and raw materials on their way to Britain and of war material to the Soviet Union. If they had completely succeeded in this, they would have won the war. In the air the German bombing raids on Britain grew fewer, but those of the British Air Force, by night, and the American, by day, caused enormous damage to German towns and factories, as many as 1,000 planes at a time taking part in some of these raids.

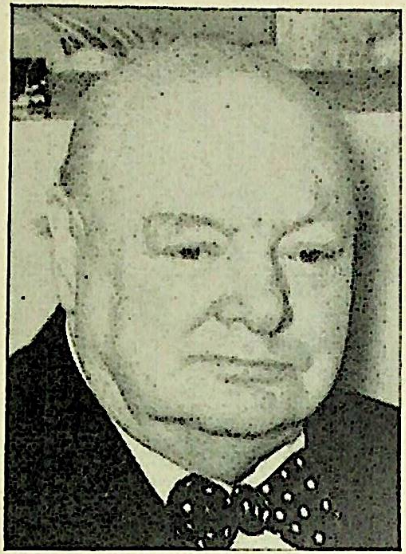
In 1943 the Soviet armies steadily advanced, driving the Germans before them. In Britain there was a great and very-well-planned build-up of American and British forces with the object of a landing on the Continent of Europe. This eventually took place in June, 1944, on the north coast of France, and was successful. Soon after, there was another landing by the Allied forces in the South of France, and before long all France was freed and the Germans were put almost completely on the defensive. On the Eastern front the Soviet forces drove the Germans out of Roumania, Hungary and most of Austria, and by the spring of 1945 Germany was invaded from both east and west. At the same time the Allies, who had captured Rome in June, 1944, but had then been held up by the Germans during the winter, burst into the north Italian plain in the spring and were ready to invade Austria from the south. During these operations Mussolini was captured and killed by some of his own countrymen. In April, 1945, the Soviet armies laid siege to Berlin, and captured it at the beginning of May: Hitler and Goebbels, his chief propagandist, committed suicide, as did several other Nazi leaders, and in the same month the German armed forces surrendered.

The Allies win in Asia. In Asia a long campaign was fought by the Americans and British. The American plan



[Central Press

Franklin Roosevelt



[Central Press

Winston Churchill

[E.N.A.

Joseph Stalin

was first to smash the Japanese fleet, which they began successfully to do in two great battles, the Coral Sea and Midway; the remarkable feature of these sea battles was that the victory was won by American ship-borne aircraft bombing and sinking the big ships of the enemy. The next thing was to take one island after another on the way to Japan, leaving Japanese armies still in the other islands, unable to move owing to the Allied command of the sea and air. There was very severe fighting by the Americans and Australians in the Solomon Islands and New Guinea, which the Japanese had invaded, before they could carry out this plan of 'island-hopping'; but by the beginning of 1944 this plan became possible, and after landing on the Philippine Islands, following another great naval victory, the Americans captured two islands within bombing range of Japan—Iwo Jima and Okinawa, the latter at a fearful cost in American lives.

On the mainland of Asia the Allies planned an attack on Burma, partly with the object of giving help to the Chinese forces under Chiang Kai-shek, who had somehow managed to hold out against the Japanese in Western China. A large headquarters was formed called the South-East Asia Command (S.E.A.C.) and a British admiral, Lord Louis Mountbatten, was put in charge: it was first established in north-east India, and then transferred to Ceylon, with the object of invading Malaya, which in fact did not become necessary. Early in 1944 the Japanese made a bold attack on the north-east frontier of India, but it failed, and British and Indian troops of the 14th Army drove them back into Burma, which was finally recaptured. Air power was most helpful in securing this victory, and many of the troops were supplied and fed by air transport, for movement of supplies by land was almost impossible owing to the lack of roads and railways through the Burmese jungles.

The bombing of Japan. In the Pacific the giant American bombers, the 'Super-Fortresses', began a systematic bombing of the Japanese mainland; the towns there suffered severely, but the Japanese seemed prepared to hold out desperately against the threatened invasion. The Americans, in order to avoid the enormous loss of life which was bound to ensue if they invaded Japan, produced their dreadful secret weapon, the atom bomb; two of these, which were dropped in August on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, caused appalling devastation in a few seconds, and brought the war to an end, the Japanese surrendering before their country should receive further damage.

The founding of the United Nations. There were millions of people, especially those in the democratic countries of the world, who, rejoicing to see the end of the fighting, hoped and thought that an era of peace and prosperity would ensue. Even before the war ended, in 1944 and 1945, schemes were being worked out to establish an international body something on the lines of the League of Nations, but better organised and more universal, for the prevention of war and the settlement of international disputes; and before the war in the Far East had ended, the Charter of the United Nations had been drawn up, and signed by 51 member nations. Unlike the League of Nations, it started off with all the great countries of the world, including the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as foundation members. A considerable amount of co-operation between the leaders of these two countries, President Franklin Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin, as well as Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom—the 'Big Three'—had been achieved during the war, and it was generally hoped that this would be maintained and increased.

The U.S.S.R. and her Satellites. However, neither in the meetings of the United Nations, nor in the numerous other international organisations which were started, nor indeed in any other way, did the U.S.S.R. show any desire to co-operate with their wartime allies. They refused to let any but a very few visitors into their country or into the countries of Eastern Europe which their armies had occupied in the final stages of the war, and within three years of the war's end they brought these countries, against the will of the majority of their inhabitants, to the position of states with Communist governments dependent on the Soviet Union, and entirely following Soviet foreign policy. These states were Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia —all, except Hungary, inhabited by peoples mainly of Slav race; they are known as 'satellite' states. Yugoslavia, however, under its national leader, Marshal Tito, eventually broke away from Soviet domination, though the country remained Communist. Thus Europe was roughly divided into two opposing sections, the Communists, and the countries who believed in the free working of democracy. The difference between them may be summed up as follows. In Communist-governed countries, a small group of men rule as dictators; people are allowed no freedom of speech or movement, and cannot vote in general elections for their choice among rival candidates, as they do in free countries which believe in democracy. The Communists claim to be what they call democratic, but their idea of democracy is entirely different from the old ideas which liberated Europe from autocratic rulers in the nineteenth century, or which animated the vast majority of people in Britain and France, the countries where democracy began in modern times, in the United States, and in other countries such as India, who got their political ideas very largely from the British, especially that of 'parliamentary government'.

The Axis countries. The defeated countries, Germany, Italy, and Japan, were all treated differently. Their war leaders had mostly been killed, had killed themselves, or had been condemned to death or long terms of imprisonment for their 'war crimes' by the occupying powers. The Allies kept powerful armed forces in all three countries. Austria was again separated from Germany, and these two countries were each divided into four 'zones', occupied respectively by American, British, French and Soviet troops. Their capital cities, Berlin and Vienna, were also divided into four sections, but here there was some attempt at joint government, though it subsequently broke down in Berlin. Japan was occupied mainly by American troops, and General MacArthur, who had been the supreme American commander first in the retreat and afterwards in the brilliantly thought-out and executed campaign of 'island-hopping', was appointed to rule the country. Italy, having given in early and to some extent joined the Allies, got off rather lightly, except that she lost the possessions in North and East Africa and the Aegean Sea which had taken her so long and cost so much money to build up.

The 'cold war' in the West. Though America, Britain and France kept a certain number of troops to occupy the countries of their late enemies, for the most part they sent their armed forces back to civil life. This was, however, not the case to nearly the same degree with the U.S.S.R., which kept millions of men under arms; and when the Soviet Union took up an increasingly hostile attitude to its former allies, the latter began to feel nervous. At the meetings of the United Nations they tried to make arrangements for treaties of peace and for a general disarmament, but these all failed through the opposition of the U.S.S.R., so that they began to feel that, were it not for the atom bomb, the secret of making which was—at first—known to the Americans alone, the Soviet armies might have invaded the free countries of Europe and set up Communist dictatorships in all those countries, as they had in Eastern Europe. So America and the West European countries stopped their disarmament and began to rearm, and the division of the world into two armed camps, which it had been hoped had gone for ever, was back again even more strongly than before.

The unfriendly relations which grew up between the Soviet Union and the other Communist-ruled countries, usually called its satellites, on the one hand, and the countries of North America and Western Europe, on the other, came to be known as a 'state of cold war'. In that part of Germany occupied by the Americans, French, and British, control was gradually relaxed, and the West Germans, after a few years under the guidance of a democratic leader, Dr. Adenauer, with democratic institutions, were allowed to set up a 'Federal Republic'. The troops of these three countries stayed in Germany, but as allies and not as armies of occupation. But in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany a Communist government, against the wishes of most of its inhabitants, was set up on the same lines as in the satellite countries of Eastern and Central Europe, and strong Soviet forces were kept there.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The rearmament of the U.S.A. and Western Europe was carried out on the lines of an agreement between them, made in 1949, and known as the 'North Atlantic Pact'. They formed what is known as the 'North Atlantic Treaty Organisation' (N.A.T.O.) with a military headquarters in Paris under an American 'Supreme Commander'—the first of these was General Eisenhower, who later became President of the United States of America. The declared object of N.A.T.O. was defence against Soviet aggression, which all the countries who joined it feared. These countries were the U.S.A. and Canada and all the countries of Western Europe except Spain, Sweden, the Irish Republic, and Switzerland: even the German Federal Republic was admitted. Later on Greece and Turkey also joined. In opposition to this the Communist countries of Europe were formed by the U.S.S.R. into the 'Warsaw Pact'. The Soviet Union encouraged these countries, including East Germany, to develop their armed forces, and the Pact bound these and the Soviet troops who were already in those countries into a vast military organisation under Soviet command. Only Yugoslavia, which resisted any domination by the Soviet Union, would not join. Thus Europe became once more divided into two armed camps.

Austria, however, was in 1956 freed from the armies of occupation, and by agreement of the occupying powers established a democratic republic; which was to be perpetually neutral, like Switzerland.

It is interesting to notice that most of the countries of Asia—the newly independent countries of which we shall read in the next two chapters—did their best to keep neutral as between these two groups of military alliances. In 1955 they met together, with some African countries as well, at a conference at Bandung, in Indonesia, with the object of keeping as neutral as possible. But four Asian countries, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan, all near neighbours of the Soviet Union, were afraid of that great power and, with Britain, banded themselves into a defensive agreement called the 'Baghdad Pact'. Some of the countries bordering on the East and South Pacific, including Australia and New Zealand, have formed the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (S.E.A.T.O.), for mutual defence against possible Communist aggression. Most of the other Asian countries aimed at being completely neutral, and led by Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, have laid down five principles for world peace, known as 'Panch Shila', which they hope that some time in the future, every country will agree to observe.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXVII

This chapter tells the story of the Second World War, forced upon the opponents of the Axis countries by those who believed that they could dominate the world by force. It shows the remarkable success of the Axis powers at first, but their failure in the end, brought about by the tough resistance of Britain to begin with, and then by the coming in against them of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., which were later to become the two most powerful countries of the world.

It goes on to show how, after the war, the Allies split into two groups, the Communist and the non-Communist states, how, because of the failure of the former to disarm, the latter felt compelled to rearm, bringing about the division of a large part of the world into two armed camps, a state of affairs which has come to be known as the 'cold war', and how there is the danger of a Third World War breaking out.

A great number of books have already been written in many countries on the events and conduct of the Second World War; some of them, such as Britain, are having large official histories written in many volumes by a number of well-qualified historians.

'The Second World War', by an Oxford professor, Cyril Falls, is worth reading, being clear and fairly short. A much bigger work, in several volumes, and with the same title, is that by Sir Winston Churchill, one of the principal actors in these world-shaking events.

Some Important Dates.

1939. Invasion of Poland by Germany started the Second World War.

1940. Successful invasion of France and neutral countries by Germany. The Battle of Britain. Italy joined Germany.

1941. Invasion of South-East Europe, and of the U.S.S.R. Japan destroyed the American fleet at Pearl Harbour.

1942. Japanese invasion and conquest in South-East Asia. Germans in North Africa defeated at El Alamein. Germans failed to capture Stalingrad.

1943. German armies on the retreat from the U.S.S.R. American success in naval battles against the Japanese. Invasion of Italy by the Allies: Italy out of the Axis.

1944. Allied landings in France. Soviet forces invaded Germany.

1945. Western Allies invaded Germany. Soviet troops captured Berlin: death of Hitler, and surrender of Germany. Recapture of Japanese-occupied countries in Asia: atom bombs on Japan: surrender of Japan.

1945. Founding of United Nations.

1949. North Atlantic Pact began N.A.T.O. Warsaw Pact.

1955. Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

The results of the Second World War in Asia and Africa were not less than those in Europe, and were perhaps even more striking. But before these are related, and in order to understand some of them, it is necessary to go back to the development of what we called in Chapter XIII 'The Commonwealth of Nations'.

The Commonwealth of Nations. Between the two world wars the character of the British Commonwealth of Nations changed considerably; after the Second World War it changed even more. It was shown in earlier chapters how various parts of what was formerly called 'The British Empire' obtained self-government. In this chapter it will be shown how and why it came to change its name and to be called 'The British Commonwealth of Nations', whose central idea is that of an equal partnership of independent countries, so that the word 'British' is being used less and less in its title. This idea of equal partnership has grown up gradually: and just as those people from Britain who in early days wanted to find markets for their goods, or homes out of Britain better than they had in that country, or freedom from religious persecution, had no idea of creating an empire, so those who in the nineteenth century consciously tried to increase the power of that empire had little or no idea of a Commonwealth of Nations.

The original method of governing the 'colonial possessions', in one way or another acquired by Britain, was to send out British officials to supervise or to carry out all branches of the administration. But the British government came gradually to replace these by settlers in those possessions who seemed capable of carrying on their own administration without supervision. At first this practice was confined to possessions where dwelt the descendants of those who had emigrated from Britain and other European countries: and we have seen in Chapters XIII and XIV how Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa became completely self-governing.

The Statute of Westminster. About every four years from 1887 onwards the Prime Ministers of the self-governing parts of the British Empire used to meet in conference with the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and other ministers of Britain to discuss various problems which affected all of them, especially their relations with one another. In 1917 this 'Imperial Conference', as it had come to be called, was for the first time attended by representatives from India. Before the First World War Britain undertook all or most of the relations between these parts and foreign countries. But after it there came a great change. At the Conference in 1926 it was recognised that the self-governing countries were really independent, and in 1931 this status was recognised by the passing of an Act of the Parliament in Britain, known as the Statute of Westminster, under which these countries were recognised as equal partners with the United Kingdom in the Commonwealth.

The management of the relations between the self-governing countries and the United Kingdom, as far as the latter was concerned, was taken out of the hands of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and a new Secretary of State was appointed who came to be known as the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. He, unlike the Colonial Secretary, had no authority to exercise control over any of 'the dominions and dependencies of the Crown'. Each of the other equal partners in the Commonwealth of Nations has appointed one of its ministers, sometimes its Prime Minister, to be in charge of Commonwealth affairs, and each of them, the United Kingdom included, has since the Statute of Westminster appointed a representative known as a 'High Commissioner' to each of the other partners. All of them have appointed their own ambassadors or other representatives to certain countries outside the Commonwealth; when they have not done this, they have usually asked the British diplomatic representatives in a country to look after their interests there. It must be remembered that the Sovereign of Great Britain remained the sovereign of these fully self-governing countries, but that when, for example, Queen Elizabeth II visits Australia, she does so as Queen of Australia.

Each of the self-governing countries of the Commonwealth can and does do exactly as it likes in foreign affairs, and no longer feels obliged to follow the lead of the United Kingdom: in spite of this, the Commonwealth remains united in many ways, and a great force for peace.

Canada. In the Second World War Canadian troops, ships, money, and materials were never spared in the common effort against the enemies of the Commonwealth. Airmen from the United Kingdom were trained in great numbers on Canadian airfields, where their training could be carried out without fear of bombing attacks by German aircraft.

Since the end of the war the population of Canada has increased to 16 millions: the country has had its vast natural resources immensely developed, and Canada has become the fourth largest trading country of the world.

Australia. When the Second World War broke out, the Australian Commonwealth sent troops to help Britain, and they fought very gallantly in North Africa and elsewhere. However, when Japan came into the war and after many successes invaded New Guinea, the large island just north of Australia, most of these had to be brought back to defend their country. The Australians fought very well, and did much to drive the Japanese out of that island. During this time great industries for manufacturing weapons of war were set up in Australia, and other industries followed; so that, whereas the export of wool remained the most important feature of Australian trade, after the war the Australians were able to make for themselves a large number of manufactured articles which they had previously had to bring into the country from abroad. Great mineral wealth is being discovered in parts of Australia hitherto barren and scarcely inhabited, and this may mean a great increase of wealth to that country.

New Zealand. Between the two World Wars New Zealand continued to prosper: when the second one broke out, New Zealand, like Australia, was for a time in danger from the Japanese, and New Zealand forces helped to drive them back. They also sent troops to Africa and Europe, where they fought very well indeed.

Union of South Africa. Opinion in the Union of South Africa in 1939 was divided as to whether the country should or should not join the rest of the Commonwealth in fighting the Second World War; but in the Union Parliament General (later Field-Marshal) Smuts, who had become Prime Minister, got a favourable vote by a small majority. South African troops fought very well in Abyssinia against the Italians, and later in North Africa.

Not long after the war ended, Field-Marshal Smuts' party, the 'United Party', was defeated in a general election, and soon after this the great man died. Dr. Malan, who led the 'National Party', and became Prime Minister, and Mr. Strydom, who followed him, were not world figures like Smuts, and put the interests of the Afrikaners, i.e. those descended from the Dutch settlers, above every other consideration.

The Union of South Africa has long been faced with many difficult problems. The relations between many of those descended from the Dutch, and the British settlers and their descendants, have become somewhat strained in consequence of the policy followed by the National Party. Then there is the problem of the Indians, who were brought to work in the country, and have remained, many of them as traders; some have become very wealthy; they are to be found especially in Natal, a part of the Union where dwell many people of British descent. But the main problem is that of the black Bantu races who came down into South Africa from the north about the same time as the Dutch arrived by sea, and spread all over the south of the continent. Though many of them remain on their tribal lands, thousands have gone to work in mines or other industries.

The government of the 'National Party', which is all Afrikaner, is determined to maintain the supremacy of the white over the brown and the black races in South Africa; this policy is known as *apartheid*, the principle of which is to keep the races apart from each other, letting each develop in its own way: they maintain that the Bantu races cannot and will not be fit for many years to take part in ruling the country. This *apartheid* policy is not well liked by any of the other members of the Commonwealth.

South Africa contains great mineral wealth, which is capable of much further development; its gold and diamond production is world-famous; there is also much scope for agricultural development.

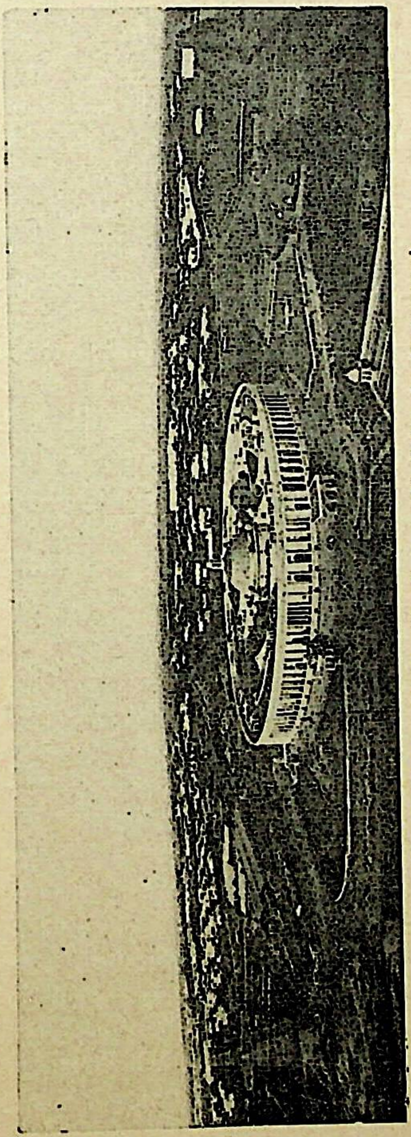
Ireland. It is necessary here to refer to what was Britain's oldest possession—Ireland. Ireland has had a long and troubled history. In times past the Irish were often badly treated by the English, and this gave rise to bitter feelings which have never quite died down. In 1800 Ireland was united with Great Britain on much the same terms as Scotland had been united with England nearly a century earlier. But many of the Irish disliked this and wanted their own separate Parliament again, creating what was known as the 'Home Rule' movement. For a long time the Parliament and people of Great Britain were unwilling to grant Home Rule, though much was done to improve the conditions of the Irish people and to set right many ancient wrongs. But just before and during the First World War a revolutionary party grew up in Ireland, known as Sinn Fein, which wanted complete independence and which in 1916 broke out in armed rebellion. Though this was unsuccessful, the trouble went on and in 1921 the leading statesmen of Great Britain decided to give the Irish most of what they wanted—but not all. Most of Ireland became 'the Irish Free State', but in Ulster, the north-eastern part of Ireland, there is a thrifty and hard-working population mainly of Scottish descent, whose forefathers were brought there by the British government as long ago as the seventeenth century, and who form the majority in the six north-eastern counties of the island. These are all of the Protestant religion, whereas nearly all the rest of the Irish, including some who live in Ulster, are Roman Catholics, and religious bitterness between them often runs high. The Ulster Protestants always wanted to remain within the United Kingdom, and in 1921 Ulster, under the name of Northern Ireland, was separated from the rest of Ireland and given its own Parliament, as well as the right to send twelve members to the United Kingdom Parliament.

The rest of Ireland got full self-government; but it was, and still is, highly discontented with the partition of the island. For this reason the Irish Free State remained neutral in the Second World War, though a very large number of Irishmen fought in the British army. In 1949 the Free State, now the Irish Republic, decided to leave the Commonwealth altogether.

The extension of the Commonwealth. While the self-governing countries whose people were of European descent obtained full self-government, this was not, before the Second World War, given to any non-European peoples, whose countries still remained 'colonies and dependencies' of the United Kingdom. These varied from vast territories like India, inhabited by peoples with long histories of ancient civilisations, to lands peopled by primitive savages. To all of these the British government came to consider itself as standing in the position of a 'trustee', holding itself responsible for their security against foreign powers, for their law and order, and for giving their peoples public works, health services, education and other benefits of western civilisation. It also encouraged local self-government, with the final end in view of associating the people of the country more and more with British officials in the central government. Before the First World War this process of association had not gone very far. In the period between the two world wars no Asian or African country in the British Commonwealth obtained full self-government, but the government of the United Kingdom had openly stated that such was its aim, and in India and Ceylon in particular it had gone quite a long way in this direction. However, in the opinion of the educated classes in these countries it had gone neither far enough nor fast enough.

The national movement in India. In India the national movement between the two wars gained rapidly in strength: the events which took place during that period will be found at the end of Chapter XV. The outbreak of world war in 1939 held up any further grant of self-government—particularly after Japan entered the war and the fighting came right up to India's north-eastern border. The Indian army fought very bravely, not only in Asia but also elsewhere, and most of its soldiers remained loyal to their British officers, except for a few thousand who joined the Japanese after they were captured—many of them in order to get out of prisoner-of-war camps.

But the leaders of India mostly objected to their people taking part in the war, and went on with their attempts to free themselves from British rule, which the British felt was quite impossible while the war was on—they even put a number of these leaders, including Gandhi and Nehru, into prison, fearing that India's war effort was being seriously weakened by their activities. But as soon as the war was over, the Labour Government, which came into power in Britain in 1945, took up the



New Delhi, with the Parliament Building in foreground question and sent a leading wartime commander, Lord Louis Mountbatten, a cousin of King George VI, to be Viceroy of India: he was to be the last. He had been in supreme command of all the Allied forces in South-East Asia, and his task was now to see if he could bring about the peaceful handing-over of rule by Britain to the leaders of India. For their part, the Indian leaders were at last convinced that the British Government was now quite willing to give them what they were asking.

India and Pakistan. During the growth of the national movement in India, the leaders of the Muslims in that country were usually to be found in support of the leaders of the Hindus, though they were not prepared, as a rule, to take such extreme measures in their agitation against British rule as the Hindu leaders were. But as the prospect of complete independence drew nearer, the hostile feeling which was always present between the two communities grew stronger, and a movement arose among the Muslims for a separate state to be created under the name of Pakistan, in the north-west and in the north-east of the sub-continent; the movement was led by Mr. Jinnah. The British had hoped that India would remain united, but said it was a matter for the leaders and their people to decide. But when the time for independence came, an agreement was made, in consequence of this Muslim movement, to create two separate dominions; Lord Mountbatten became the first Governor-General of India (Bharat), with Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister, and Mr. Jinnah became Governor-General of Pakistan. The new state of India contained over 300 million people, including many Muslims. Pakistan had a population of about 80 millions, mostly Muslims; more than half of these lived in East Bengal, in the north-east, about a thousand miles away from the rest of Pakistan, in the north-west.

It looked for a time as if the whole matter of partition of the sub-continent might be brought about without bloodshed, especially when the boundaries of the two new states were settled, or nearly all settled, by agreement. But unfortunately, though the leaders were in general tolerant and quite reasonable people, many of their followers were not. Many of the Hindus who now found themselves in the new state of Pakistan, and many of the Muslims who did not, began to migrate in opposite directions; and this 'mass migration', in which probably several million people took part, was accompanied, in the great province of the Punjab particularly, by disorder and violence, whereby many thousands of innocent people lost their property and only too many lost their lives as well. Naturally there were strong feelings of indignation on both sides at this migration and the killings that went with it, but the leaders of the two governments managed, though with some difficulty, to keep their followers from starting a war.

The Indian states. During the period of British rule, India had been governed in two different ways. Over what was called British India there was *direct rule* by the British Government, with its highly trained Civil Service, British and Indian; this included the greater part of the country. But there was also a vast extent of land where there was *indirect rule*; that is to say, there were about 600 states, large and small, whose rulers had made treaties with the British. These rulers and their successors kept much of their former power in some cases, but had nothing to do with foreign affairs and certain other functions of government; they were directly responsible to the Viceroy, and had a 'British Resident' in their state to advise and assist, and sometimes to check them.

After the British left, the rulers of most, though not all, of these states gave up their powers to the new governments; but over two of the largest there was trouble. The Nizam of Haidarabad, a very wealthy ruler over a large area in Central India, did not want to join the new state of India: he was a Muslim, but the majority of his subjects were Hindus. His state looked like falling into confusion, and the Indian government decided to send in troops to restore order and compel the Nizam to join the Indian Union, which he did very unwillingly. In Kashmir, in the extreme north-west, the ruler was a Hindu, but the majority of his subjects were Muslims. Afraid of losing his power, he exercised his right of choice and said he would join India rather than Pakistan—his lands bordered on both these states. This caused very bad feeling among the Pakistanis, and when in 1948 the wild border tribesmen invaded Kashmir, the Pakistani army made little or no attempt to stop them: this was done with difficulty by the Indian army, while the Pakistani army occupied a part of Kashmir. War between the two countries was only just averted; but the armies remained in Kashmir, and in 1957 they were still there—this thorny question had not been settled, though it had been brought to the attention of the United Nations.

The Republic of India. After Lord Mountbatten ceased to be Governor-General, in 1948, he was succeeded by an Indian, Sri Rajagopalacharya, until the new constitution came into force in 1950. Under this, India became a republic with a President at its head. But it did not leave the Commonwealth. Elizabeth II is not the Empress of India, as Queen Victoria was, but the Indian government recognises her as 'Head of the Commonwealth'. The first President of the Indian Republic was Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Jawaharlal Nehru remained as Prime Minister, and his party, the Congress Party, was returned with a large majority after the first general election in 1951–2; this was the biggest general election that had ever happened anywhere. The same result happened in the second general election, in 1957. Before all this, universal sorrow, not only in India, but in many countries outside, was caused by the murder in 1948 of the great Mahatma Gaṇdhi by a Hindu fanatic. The rulers of India have an immense task, and are determined to carry it on in a democratic manner. They are carrying out very great schemes of planned development.

The Republic of Pakistan. Pakistan consists of two portions, now known as West and East Pakistan, separated by a thousand miles of territory belonging to the Republic of India. East Pakistan is almost entirely surrounded by Indian territory, though it has one outlet to the sea, a port on the Bay of Bengal. Unlike the Indians, the Pakistanis took a considerable time to draw up a constitution, but this was finally done in 1956, as well as separate constitutions for the provinces of West and East Pakistan. By this constitution Pakistan became a republic, and its elected National Assembly decided to remain within the Commonwealth.

Ceylon. In Ceylon a considerable amount of self-government was given to the people in 1931, including what was new in any of the non-European countries of the Commonwealth, the right of every adult man and woman to vote in the elections of members to the legislature (then called the State Council). The leaders of educated public opinion in Ceylon, who had been asking for self-government ever since the First World War, were not content with what they had been given, but demanded full self-government. They did not, however, make use of the same methods as employed in India—civil disobedience—but used what are called constitutional methods of agitation.

When the Second World War broke out, Ceylon, with its two great naval harbours of Colombo and Trincomalee, became a most important naval, military, and air base. The people of Ceylon were loyal to the British connection; they had as their leader a very able and fair-minded man, D. S. Senanayake, who was determined to bring about full self-government by peaceful means. In this he was completely successful, so that in February, 1948, Ceylon ceased to be a colony and became a fully self-governing member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The island settled down at once into orderly and peaceful government, and largely through Senanayake's policy the hostile feelings which existed, sometimes rather strongly, between the different communities, especially the Sinhalese and the Tamils, died down considerably.

Senanayake died in 1952, and his son succeeded him as Prime Minister. Since then there have been two changes of Prime Minister, and relations between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities have become rather less friendly than under the two Senanayakes, owing to the government which came into power in 1956 making Sinhalese, the language of the majority, the sole official language of the government, which the Tamils, the main minority, much disliked. This government also declared its intention of becoming a republic like India and Pakistan, but had not done so by the end of 1957.

Burma. We read in Chapter XV that Burma had been separated from India in 1937. After being first occupied by, and then freed from, the Japanese, Burma also became fully self-governing. For a few months it came back under British government; but its leaders finally decided not to stay in the Commonwealth, and its separation was brought about in 1947 by a friendly treaty with the United Kingdom government.

Malaya and Singapore. Malaya and the great port of Singapore had also been under Japanese rule during the Second World War. In the former, a land much of which was under dense jungle, there had been a strong resistance movement against the Japanese, carried on mainly by Chinese aided by a handful of Britons who had not been captured or had made their escape. Most of these Chinese were Communists, and after the British drove out the Japanese they resisted the British also. The British sent a considerable number of troops to put an end to this resistance: they were largely successful, but even by the end of 1957 the resistance in the difficult jungle country was not entirely put down. In the meantime, however, both Singapore and Malaya were given a large amount of self-government, and in 1957 Malaya was given full self-government. The majority of the inhabitants of Singapore are of Chinese origin: in Malaya, however, there are rather more native Malays than Chinese. Hence these two parts of the Malayan peninsula remain separated, though they are closely united, and indeed dependent on each other, by ties of trade. Malaya contains the two former 'Settlements', now states, of Penang and Malacca, and nine states, each under a Sultan: these rulers have very wisely become 'constitutional rulers' and have given up some of their powers, though not all, to the central government. Malaya is therefore correctly known as 'The Federation of Malaya'.

The growth of self-government in Africa. Though self-government in most parts of Africa held by the British was slowly increasing between the two world wars, it was after the second that its rapid development took place.

In central Africa there were three territories in British possession, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and 'British Central Africa', later known as 'Nyasaland'. In Southern Rhodesia there was a fairly large population of British people, mostly immigrants or the children of immigrants: in Northern Rhodesia the number of such people was comparatively small, while the people of Nyasaland were almost entirely of African race. Southern Rhodesia had a very considerable amount of self-government and did not come under the authority of the Colonial Office in London. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, however, had only a small amount of self-government, particularly the latter. But after 1945 a movement grew up to join these three territories in a federation, and in 1953, after a good deal of argument and negotiation, this was accomplished and 'The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland' came into existence, almost but not quite fully self-governing. The Europeans who lived there had been entirely responsible, with the British government, for the remarkable economic development of the country, especially the development of a great copper-mining industry in Northern Rhodesia. They were the political leaders of the country; but they have taken up a different policy from their southern neighbours in the Union of South Africa, aiming at partnership between the races, though they think that it may be a long time before the

Africans are ready to play an equal part with them in self-government.

In East Africa the three territories of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika (the latter was once 'German East Africa') are also developing self-governing institutions. In Kenya there are about 30,000 European settlers, nearly all from the United Kingdom. The African tribes living in Kenya are on the whole rather backward, but here, too, the policy of partnership has been accepted by the government, though rather unwillingly by some of the white settlers. There is an additional complication in the presence of a large number of Indian traders and their descendants. In 1953 a revolt broke out in one of the largest tribes, the Kikuyu, against the European and Asian settlers and against the Christian religion. This took the form of a secret society, known as Mau-Mau, whose members perpetrated horrible cruelties on some of the settlers, but especially on their fellow-tribesmen who refused to come in with them. After a few years, though with great difficulty, the movement was put down.

In Uganda the African people are less backward, and they enjoy a considerable degree of self-government. Education has made much progress in this country.

Tanganyika was in 1957 still in the early stages of self-government; the population is mostly African, but such European and Asian settlers as there are seem to get on well with them.

It is in West Africa that the developments have been most striking. Three of the British colonies there, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia, had been British possessions for quite a long time. The fourth, and by far the largest, Nigeria, came into British hands during the division of Africa among European powers set out in Chapter XVI. In all of these, education, economic development, and self-government have gone ahead very rapidly since the end of the Second World War. Sierra Leone and the Gambia, both small territories, have a certain amount of self-government. Nigeria has become a federation of three regions, Northern, Eastern, and Western, each with its own legislative body: to these a fourth has been added, the 'trust territory' of Southern Cameroons, once a German possession: and there is a central legislature for all Nigeria. The country is not very far from full self-government.

In the Gold Coast this has been attained, and under the name of 'Ghana' it was given independence in March, 1957, and is the first native African colony to become a fully self-governing country of the Commonwealth of Nations. Its development in this position is being watched with great interest by its fellow-members in Europe and Asia.

The West Indies. There is a scheme of federation which has been agreed upon among most of the islands in the Caribbean Sea which are British colonies—some of them have had a limited amount of self-government for a very long time. The scheme came into operation in 1958, and may in time add yet another fully self-governing member to the Commonwealth. The federation is called the British Caribbean Federation.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXVIII

In this chapter we take up again the story of that great association of free and of colonial countries which developed from the British Empire into the Commonwealth of Nations, from the point where it was left in Chapters XIII to XVI. We see how a number of countries became free and independent, and took their places as equal partners in the Commonwealth, particularly four Asian countries and one African. On the other hand we see that two countries, one European, the Irish Republic, and one Asian, the Republic of Burma, did not wish to be included. It is specially noteworthy that these developments took place with little or no bloodshed. We see further other countries, former colonies of the United Kingdom, being given more and more self-government and on the way to becoming, like India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Ghana, full members of the Commonwealth.

Books on the Commonwealth are plentiful, but this association of free and independent nations changes so rapidly that they very soon become out of date, as this chapter will in its turn.

Berriedale Keith's 'Constitution, Administration, and Laws of the British Empire' is a full survey of its various forms of government up to 1938. A good general survey is that by MacInnes, 'The British Empire and Commonwealth, 1815–1949'. A quarterly review, 'The Round Table', devoted mainly to Commonwealth affairs, is excellent: it also has good articles on the contemporary world situation. A fortnightly, 'The New Commonwealth', has some useful articles, and gives details of week-to-week events in Commonwealth countries.

Some Important Dates.

1887. First Colonial Conference.
1917. Imperial Conference, attended by representatives from India.
1931. Statute of Westminster.
1947. India given independence by Britain and split into India (Bharat) and Pakistan. Burma left the Commonwealth.
1948. Ceylon given independence by Britain.
1949. The Irish Republic left the Commonwealth.
1957. Gold Coast (Ghana) and the Federation of Malaya given independence by Britain.

CHAPTER XXIX

NEW STATES IN ASIA AND AFRICA. THE UNITED NATIONS

New states in Asia. In addition to the countries which gained their independence within the Commonwealth of Nations—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Malaya—and Burma, which went outside it, several other new countries in Asia came into existence, largely as a result of the Japanese invasions and subsequent defeats.

Indonesia. The first of these, Indonesia, is composed of what were formerly the Dutch colonial possessions in the islands, great and small, of South-east Asia, the largest ones being Java, Sumatra, Celebes, and most of Borneo. They had all been captured by the Japanese, after whose withdrawal the Dutch came back. But the people of these islands, particularly Java, showed no desire to remain under Dutch rule, and after considerable negotiation and some fighting the Dutch gave them their independence, and the new Republic of Indonesia was founded. It has a population of about 60 millions, mostly Malay by race and Muslim by religion. The principal task of the Indonesian government, which is centred at Djakarta (formerly called Batavia), is to restore law and order, which broke down badly after the departure of the Japanese and the struggle for freedom from Dutch colonial rule: so far they have been only partially restored.

The Philippines. Further east the U.S.A. withdrew completely from the Philippine Islands, to which a large measure of self-government had already been given before the war. This was done in 1946 in fulfilment of a promise. The republic has since that time maintained very friendly relations with the U.S.A. and the countries of Western Europe.

China. Perhaps the most important and significant of all the changes in Asia, however, were those which happened in China. During the war powerful armed forces of Chinese Communists had held sway in the north-west of that great country, fighting the Japanese, but not co-operating with Chiang Kai-shek. That leader after the war failed to set up a satisfactory government, and although millions of American dollars were poured into the country, they did not reach the people. The Communists produced an able leader, Mao Tse-Tung, who went to war with Chiang Kai-shek, and drove him out of the mainland of China on to the large island of Formosa, where he and his army stayed, protected by the American fleet.

Communist China. The Communists set up the People's Republic of China, which from its vast population of round about 500 millions and its new-found energy is bound to exert immense influence on Asia and, indeed, on the whole world. Its Communist rulers have modelled their methods of government on those of the Soviet Union, and have naturally ranged themselves on the side of the Communist countries of Europe. They have made revolutionary changes in agriculture, have immensely developed communications by rail and by air, and are making a well-planned effort to set up industries. China has vast natural resources, most of which are still undeveloped. The rulers have made great use of Russian technicians, and have received loans of money and of materials for developing industry from the Soviet Union. But though they follow that country in many ways, they are quite capable of taking a line of their own at any time. The development of the country on modern lines is really only just beginning, and it seems likely that, for some years at any rate, the energies of the Chinese people and their rulers will have to be devoted mainly to this end.

Korea. Only a few weeks before the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union, which had refused to declare war upon Japan during its whole course, now did so, and occupied the northern half of Korea, in which they set up a Communist state. In the southern part, after the country was freed from the Japanese, who had held it since 1910, a republic on democratic lines was set up. In the middle of 1950 the North Koreans, who had received arms and military training from the Chinese and Russian Communists, suddenly invaded South Korea and drove back its ill-armed and badly trained forces. This was deemed by the United Nations to be direct aggression, and they decided to put a stop to it. Troops, mainly American, were sent to the rescue, drove the North Koreans out of the South, and nearly reached the extreme north of the country, which borders on China. But then the Chinese People's Republic suddenly sent hundreds of thousands of Chinese soldiers into Northern Korea (under the name of 'volunteers'), and drove the United Nations forces back beyond the border between North and South Korea. The United Nations forces eventually regained some ground and re-established their front line in North Korea; the fighting continued uneventfully until a truce was arranged in the summer of 1953.

There remained the two republics of North and South Korea: since 1953 an uneasy truce has been maintained between them, but there is always a danger of armed conflict breaking out again.

Indo-China. The great peninsula of Indo-China before the war was, with the exception of the free country of Siam (or Thailand), part of the colonial possessions of France. The French officials remained there, with little or no power, during the Japanese occupation, and afterwards tried to exercise their former authority. The two semi-independent states of Cambodia and Laos did not raise much objection to this to begin with, but in the east of the peninsula, in the important area known to-day as Vietnam, Communism had, during and after the Japanese occupation, obtained a strong hold in the north of that territory. The Communists there, who had resisted the Japanese during the war, set up a national state which was known as Viet-Minh, and fought with marked success against the French, and against the Southern Vietnamese.

It became clear to the French that it was not worth their while to try to hold their position in Indo-China by going on fighting expensive wars to keep their possessions in unwilling subjection. They therefore, in 1954, made peace with Viet-Minh, agreed to evacuate Southern Vietnam, and gave full independence to Cambodia and Laos. Attempts were made to join Southern and Northern Vietnam into one country, but the rulers of the South were so suspicious of the Communists of the North that up to the end of 1957 these attempts failed, and it looks as if two republics, Northern and Southern, like those of Korea, will continue to exist, at any rate for a time.

The Middle East. Disturbed as was the situation in the Far East, that in the Near and Middle East was even more dangerous to world peace.

In Chapter XVI we read how Egypt was passing out of the hands of the British, who had been ruling there since 1882. We read also, in Chapter XXIII, about the new countries which were coming into being as a result of the break-up of the old Turkish Empire after the First World War, and how Britain was given by the League of Nations a 'mandate' over Palestine, and over the countries which came to be known as Iraq and Jordan, while France was given a mandate over Syria.

In Palestine it was agreed, after the end of the First World War, that the Jews, who had been dispersed from that country by the Romans as long ago as the first century of the Christian era, should be given a 'national home' there. These remarkable people had never forgotten the land of their origin, and though dispersed over Europe, Asia, Africa and America, had always kept their sense of nationality and their religion: they never became completely merged into the peoples in whose countries they dwelt. They survived many fierce persecutions, the last and greatest of which was that by Hitler's government in Germany, in which thousands of Jews perished. There had been for many years a movement among some of them to return to Palestine, known as 'Zionism', and after the setting up of this 'national home' it grew much stronger among Jews all over the world.

In the period between the two wars they came flocking in thousands to Palestine, much to the discontent of the Arabs who had dwelt there for many centuries. Though the coming of these able and enterprising people considerably increased the prosperity of this small country, the Arabs deeply resented the way in which the Jews were buying up their lands, and feared, not without reason, that they would be crowded out of the country. Serious riots with bloodshed took place, and the Arabs violently resisted the British efforts to put them down, while neither Jews nor Arabs would agree to any of the plans put forward by the British authorities to settle the problems caused by the setting up of this Jewish national home.

When war broke out in 1939, these riots came to an end for the time being, and Palestine was used as a base for the invasion and occupation by the Allies of Syria, where the French officials and troops had remained, unlike many of the French overseas, faithful to the German-controlled French government. When Syria was occupied, the 'Free French' government agreed that the French mandate should be ended, and in 1943 the independent republics of Syria and Lebanon came into existence.

After the war, trouble broke out again in Palestine: this time it was the Jews who offered armed resistance to the British authorities. But finally, in 1948, it was decided by the United Nations, the British agreeing, that the Jewish national home should become a new state under the name of Israel. In 1946 the British gave Jordan its full independence, though that country remained bound to Britain by a treaty of alliance, under which a large sum of several millions of pounds was paid every year up to 1956 for the upkeep of the Jordanian army; in 1957 the treaty was by agreement discontinued.

Egypt and the new Arab states were furious at the setting-up of Israel, and in 1949 five of them made war upon the new state. But the Israelis had, in a remarkably short time, raised an efficient army, which more than held its own against the badly armed and ill-organised forces brought against it. After two months' fighting the United

Nations managed to get an armistice arranged, which gave Israel rather more territory than she had before. All attempts to make a permanent settlement failed and this part of the world remained a danger spot to world peace.

In the years immediately before and after the Second World War, a very big change was coming over some of the countries of the Middle East. It had been discovered that beneath the soil of Persia (now known as Iran), Iraq and Arabia, lay vast deposits of millions of gallons of oil, the source of power on which all the industrial countries of the world were coming increasingly to depend. The peoples of the Middle East had no knowledge of how to drill the deep holes required to make the oil wells, nor of the complicated machinery necessary to transport the oil to the tankers at the ports, nor how to refine it for use in all kinds of engines: nor had they the capital necessary to buy the services of technicians and the costly machinery. This was all done by the countries of the West, the U.S.A. and Britain in particular. About half the wealth that came from this oil went to the great companies who worked it, and the rest to the rulers of the lands from whose soil it was extracted.

The Arab countries were inclined to blame the British for the foundation of the state of Israel, and this feeling was particularly bitter in Egypt. The Egyptians also strongly objected to the presence of British troops on the Suez Canal, where a great British military base had been constructed for use if the 'cold war' ever turned into an outbreak of hostilities. In 1951 anti-British rioting broke out. Soon after this a group of Egyptian army officers deposed their king, Farouk, and set up a military-controlled republic, with the army leader General Neguib as its President: but in 1954 the committee of army officers, who were the real rulers of the country, removed him and put one of their number, Colonel Nasser, into his place. The Egyptian rulers began to negotiate with the British about the Suez Canal base, and also about the Sudan, which had been for seventy years under the joint control of Britain and Egypt. The Sudan question was settled by an agreement that the Sudanese should be given complete power to do as they liked; they chose national independence, much to the annoyance of the Egyptians, who had hoped that they would join Egypt. Thus another independent African state came into existence.

The matter of the Suez Canal base continued to give trouble. Eventually the British agreed to take away their troops, but stipulated that in case a general war broke out, they should have the right to re-occupy it.

Colonel Nasser began to negotiate with the British and the Americans for a big loan of money to build a great dam on the river Nile. But they did not trust him, as he seemed to be spending a large part of his country's money in building up an army and an air force with arms and aircraft bought from Communist countries, instead of using it for peaceful purposes. In 1956 they therefore refused to lend the money, and Nasser by way of a reprisal seized the Suez Canal from the company which had managed it ever since it was started. This made the British and many of the other governments whose ships and whose trade went through the Canal very angry, and the matter was referred to the United Nations. The events which followed will be mentioned later in this chapter.

North Africa. In Chapter XVI we saw how the French had come to control most of north-west Africa, and in Chapter

XXI how the Italians had seized Tripoli. After the war Tripoli was put by the United Nations under British 'trusteeship', under the name of Libya: but in 1951 that country became fully self-governing. It has a treaty of alliance with Britain.

National movements arose in Morocco and Tunisia, and in 1956 the French, somewhat unwillingly, gave these countries their independence. A similar movement arose in Algeria, but here the conditions were rather different: nearly a million French people live in Algeria, and the French regard it as a part of France and its people as French citizens. But civil war broke out, encouraged by Egypt and other Muslim countries, and was still raging all through 1957. The French continued their efforts to find some way of settling the very difficult problems of Algeria without giving that country the same kind of independence as had been given to Morocco and Tunisia.

The United Nations. It had been generally hoped, particularly in the West, and in the new countries of Asia, that the United Nations would bring about peace for ever, and the end of wars, at any rate of world wars. These hopes, however, were sadly diminished by the 'cold war'. The United Nations as set up in 1945 consisted of a General Assembly, to which fifty-one member-countries sent representatives, and a Security Council, which consisted of five permanent members, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Britain, France, and China, and six other members, elected every two years. It was laid down that if any resolution brought before the Security Council was voted against by any of the permanent members, it was to be of no effect. With most of the world divided into Communist and anti-Communist blocks, the former being in the minority both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, the U.S.S.R. had by 1957 voted more than 70 times against such resolutions: this is called 'exercising the veto'. On a number of occasions the veto was used to prevent countries which the U.S.S.R. thought likely to be opposed to them from becoming U.N. members: but on this point they have gradually given way, and now nearly all the countries of the world are members —but not the People's Republic of China, to which the U.S.A. has strong objections, or either of the German republics. Switzerland is the only country which wants to have its neutrality so complete that it refuses to join.

The position of China is curious. When the United Nations was founded, China, under the rule of Chiang Kai-shek, was a permanent member of the Security Council. This was still the case in 1957, though Chiang's 'National Republic of China' consisted only of the island of Formosa. Many countries think this state of affairs absurd and want the People's Republic of China to take its place. But the U.S.A. has not forgiven the People's Republic for intervening with 'volunteers' against the United Nations forces in Korea—it may be noted that at the time their forces were sent, the U.S.S.R. had for the time being, and somewhat rashly, withdrawn its representatives from the Security Council, so could not exercise the veto.

The other organisations of the United Nations are the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice. Associated with the United Nations are other bodies such as the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.), the World Health Organisation (W.H.O.), the Food and Agriculture Organisation (F.A.O.), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (U.N.E.S.C.O.), the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The work of these is not generally of a controversial character: and although they have no power to do anything in any member-country without its consent, this is usually given, for the work of these organisations is helpful, especially to the less advanced countries.

It must be noted that the United Nations has no power to enforce its decisions, except in the last resort, as happened when a United Nations armed force was sent to Korea to stop the aggression of Northern against Southern Korea, though this was not really effective owing to the intervention of the 'volunteers' from the People's Republic of China.

Late in 1956 Israel, goaded by the incursions of armed raiders from Egypt and other Arab countries over its frontier, invaded Egyptian territory, defeated the Egyptian army, and occupied areas held by Egypt under the armistice agreement of 1949. The Governments of Britain and France sent in troops with the avowed object of separating the Egyptian and Israeli armies and protecting the Suez Canal. This was done without reference to the United Nations. For once this body took decisive action, called upon Britain, France, and Israel to cease fighting and withdraw their forces, and, when they agreed to do so, sent a small force consisting of contingents from several countries to separate the Israeli and Egyptian armies. This is an instance of successful intervention by the United Nations, though at the time of writing the intention of that body to bring about a permanent peace between Israel and the Arab countries was by no means assured of success.

At about the same time there was a revolt in Hungary against the Communist government, which was put down by Soviet soldiers. The United Nations wanted to intervene, but the U.S.S.R. used the veto in the Security Council so that this attempt at United Nations action failed. These two sets of events are too recent, at the time of writing, to permit of any further comments.

It is thus clear that the United Nations has not yet fulfilled the hopes with which it was started. It has no power to interfere in the internal affairs of any member-country, and none at all against any permanent member-country of the Security Council, except with that member-country's consent: and it has no permanent police force to ensure that any of its decisions are obeyed by a member-country. Until countries are willing to give up to the United Nations some of the complete sovereignty they now possess, this state of affairs will continue. So far there are not many signs of this happening. But until it does the United Nations will not be effective and the peace of the world will not be secured. If it is not secured, and a third world war breaks out, the consequences, as shown at the end of Chapter XXII, may be the destruction of civilisation, and perhaps of all human life on this earth. Therefore it seems that the making of the United Nations into something like a real world government is the world's only hope of permanent peace, and maybe even of survival.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF CHAPTER XXIX

This chapter continues to show the changes which followed from the end of the Second World War. The first part tells the story of how a number of countries, large and small, in Asia and Africa gradually shook off the domination which some European countries had obtained over them, mainly in the nineteenth century, and obtained their independence.

Most of these newly independent countries, but not the People's Republic of China, have been admitted to membership of the United Nations; and in the last part of the chapter we see a little of what the United Nations is, how it works, how far, up to the time of writing, it has succeeded and how far failed. It is most important to know and to remember that only by putting the Charter of the United Nations into full operation, and by improving it so as to give that body more authority, can the peace of the world be secured and, perhaps, the world saved from destruction by its own inhabitants.

For such very recent events as those outlined in this chapter, it is well nigh impossible to make an adequate selection of books for further reading. A large number of books and pamphlets on the matters dealt with are continually being published. In countries where there are branches of the United Nations Association, these issue pamphlets and other works, not too expensive, some of which should be helpful to young students.

Teachers should encourage their students to follow contemporary events in the leading newspapers and periodicals. It is with the hope that they will find this chapter useful as a background for such study, and as something on which to build up a knowledge of contemporary affairs, that the author has ventured to write it.

Some Important Dates.

1946.	Outbreak of civil war in Indo-China (Vietnam).
1948.	New state of Israel formed: war with Arabs.
1949.	Formation of Indonesian Republic. Chiang Kai-shek driven from Chinese mainland: People's Republic of China set up.
1950.	United Nations force sent to Korea. Chinese 'volunteers' intervened in Korea.

1953. Truce in Korea.
1954. Armistice in Vietnam.
1955. French gave up possessions in Indo-China.
1956. Morocco and Tunisia became independent of France. Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal Company. Anglo-French force landed in Egypt: action taken by United Nations. Revolt in Hungary put down by Soviet troops.

MODEL TEST EXERCISES

CHAPTER I

1. What do you understand by the term 'autocracy'? What countries in the world were *not* autocratically ruled in the year 1788? Contrast any one autocratically ruled country with another not ruled in this manner.
2. What European countries possessed lands outside that continent in 1789? Indicate these possessions on an outline map of the world (preferably with coloured chalks).
3. Describe the political chaos in India during the eighteenth century.
4. What do you understand by the term 'colony' (*a*) in 1789, (*b*) to-day?

CHAPTER II

1. Into what classes was the French people divided before the Revolution? Write down any reasons which may have made each of these discontented with the government of Louis XVI.
2. Write an imaginary letter from Marat to the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal recommending the execution of a suspected person.
3. What causes led to the outbreak of the Reign of Terror?
4. Read as much as you can of Burke's 'Reflections on the French Revolution', and learn by heart the passage beginning 'I thought ten thousand swords would have leaped from their scabbards'.

CHAPTER III

1. What in your opinion are the six most important inventions found out since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution?
2. Try to describe the conditions in a factory town in the North of England during the early years of the nineteenth century, as if you had visited it.

   Note. A somewhat highly coloured account is to be found in Disraeli's novel 'Sybil'.
3. What is meant by saying that Australia is much closer to England to-day than it was a century ago?
4. Take the lines of Kipling's poem quoted (or better still the whole poem), and write down what machines perform the various actions mentioned.

CHAPTER IV

1. Why was the French revolutionary army so much more successful than the navy?
2. Show on an outline map of Europe the spread of French rule (*a*) up to 1798, (*b*) up to 1808.
3. Why did Napoleon say that Sir Sidney Smith had made him miss his destiny?
4. What causes can you assign for Napoleon's ultimate failure?
5. Write an imaginary letter from a French officer to his brother serving in Spain, describing the retreat from Moscow.

CHAPTER V

1. Why did not Germany become united into one state immediately after the Napoleonic wars?
2. On an outline map of Italy show the way in which it was redivided by the Treaty of Vienna.
3. What kind of man do you imagine the Czar Alexander to have been?

4. Construct an imaginary dialogue between Metternich and a friend, giving his ideas on the subject of Italian nationalism, and how it should be suppressed.

CHAPTER VI

1. What is meant by 'parliamentary reform'? How far did the Reform Bill of 1832 take this movement in Britain? Trace its further progress up to the present day.
2. Why did revolutions break out in France in 1830 and 1848?
3. To what extent had the Vienna settlement broken down by 1830?
4. What exactly do you understand by the terms 'Liberalism' and 'Nationality'?

CHAPTER VII

1. In what countries did revolutionary movements break out in 1848? State in each case the main reasons for their failure.
2. How was Louis Napoleon able to make himself Emperor of the French?
3. Why was the revolutionary feeling less strong in Britain than elsewhere?
4. Try to describe the feelings of a respectable middle-class English Conservative, as expressed in his club, on the subject of the Chartists' petition.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Why is Queen Victoria called 'a constitutional sovereign'? Account for her great popularity towards the end of her reign.
2. What abuses were attacked by Dickens in his novels?
3. Compare the lot of the British working-man to-day with his lot at the beginning of Victoria's reign.
4. The people of Victorian times are often accused of 'complacency'. Why? Do you consider they had good cause for this complacency?

CHAPTER IX

1. In 1844 two Venetian brothers, named Bandiera, were shot for aiding a rebellion in Naples. Why may this event be described as a warning to statesmen in Vienna?
2. Cavour's interview with Louis Napoleon in 1858 was secret. What arguments do you think he may have used to persuade that emperor to interfere on behalf of Italian unity?
3. What was Garibaldi's share in bringing about the Union of Italy?
4. Explain why the Pope quarrelled with the new kingdom of Italy, and how the quarrel was eventually made up.

CHAPTER X

1. Why did Prussia support and Austria oppose the closer union of the German states?
2. Trace the main features of Bismarck's plan for uniting Germany under Prussian rule.
3. What reasons can you give for the remarkable all-round military success of the Prussian armies?
4. Give the details of Bismarck's scheme for separating the French from all possible assistance when a Franco-Prussian war should break out.

CHAPTER XI

1. Over what different peoples did the Czars of Russia rule during the nineteenth century? Illustrate your answer by a map.
2. Trace the diplomatic relations between Russia and Britain between 1815 and 1913.
3. Why were the Russians usually ready to make war on Turkey up to 1914?
4. Why did the people of Russia become so discontented with the way in which they were governed? Write a short story to illustrate some of your points.

CHAPTER XII

1. Indicate on outline maps the political position in the Balkan peninsula in 1833, 1879, and 1914.
2. How were the Balkan states affected by the Berlin Congress of 1878?
3. Discuss the attitude of Austria towards the Balkans between 1867 and 1913.
4. What countries took part in the second Balkan War (1913)? State why each of them took part, and how each was affected by the result.

CHAPTER XIII

1. What different forms of political organisation exist within the Commonwealth? Write down as many examples of each type as you can remember.
2. What are the main differences between the 'First' and the 'Second' British Empires?
3. What is the importance of the Durham Report in the development of the British Empire?
4. It has been said that Ottawa may one day be the chief city in the Commonwealth. What reasons are there for such a prophecy?

CHAPTER XIV

1. What do you understand by the term 'federation'? Compare and contrast the federal idea in the constitutions of Canada and Australia.
2. What does the Commonwealth owe to Sir George Grey?
3. Why is New Zealand deemed to be such a successful dominion?
4. Why have the problems before the government of South Africa usually been more difficult than those before any of the other dominions?

CHAPTER XV

1. Why is India referred to as a 'sub-continent'?
2. Account carefully for the fact that the British became rulers of India, and trace briefly the spread of their rule, illustrating your answer by maps.
3. Discuss the effects of British rule on India.
4. Why did British rule become so unpopular to India?

CHAPTER XVI

1. What were the main reasons which led to the great expansion of European countries outside Europe in the nineteenth century?
2. Estimate the work done by the British in creating modern Egypt.
3. How was the spread of European influence over Africa rendered possible?
4. Mark on an outline map of Asia those parts which were under the rule of European countries in 1939.

CHAPTER XVII

1. How did the Japanese manage to develop their country on Western lines without interference from European countries?
2. Why did China find herself in danger of constant interference from foreign countries?
3. How did Japan acquire full control over Korea?
4. Explain the cessation of foreign interference in China.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. What differences in character existed in 1860 between the Northern, Southern, and Western states of the U.S.A.?

2. How far is it true to say that secession rather than slavery was the real question over which the American Civil War took place?
3. Construct a dialogue between two American citizens in 1916 for and against the U.S.A. joining in the First World War.
4. How and why did the U.S.A. give up the policy of 'isolation'?

CHAPTER XIX

1. Write down all the methods of preventing and curing disease which, as far as you can ascertain, have been discovered during the last hundred years.
   Note. Reference to the Encyclopaedia Britannica will be found useful.
2. What are the principal branches of scientific knowledge? Find out the names of at least one great scientist connected with each branch.
3. What improvements in social conditions have been made since about 1800? Have these improvements reached the place in which you live? If so, give local examples.
4. Compare the position of women as members of the social community to-day with their position a century ago.

CHAPTER XX

1. Account for the formation of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy.
2. What steps were taken by the rulers of Germany after 1871 to foster the all-round development and strength of their country?
3. Account for the growth of ill-feeling between Britain and Germany up to 1904.
4. What do you understand by 'The Triple Entente'? How does an 'entente' differ from an 'alliance'?

CHAPTER XXI

1. Trace the progress of the world-peace movement up to the end of the Second Hague Conference (1907).
2. Account for and illustrate the growth of German influence in Turkey up to 1914.
3. Why did Italy not join the other members of the Triple Alliance at the outbreak of war?
4. Would you say that the First World War was inevitable, or do you consider it could have been prevented?

CHAPTER XXII

1. Make a list of the countries engaged in the First World War up to the end of 1916, and try to estimate briefly why each of them was engaged in it.
2. Estimate the importance of the part played by navies during the war.
3. Why is the battle of the Marne often described as the really decisive action of the war?
4. Make a list of the various 'theatres of war', and try to estimate briefly the reasons for the Allies' success or failure in each of them.

CHAPTER XXIII

1. Why was it considered necessary to modify President Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' in drawing up the terms of peace?
2. Distinguish between the three different types of 'mandated territories', and give examples of each.
3. Describe carefully the machinery of the organisations which were set up for the maintenance of world peace after 1918.
4. What is the significance of the International Labour Organisation?

CHAPTER XXIV

1. What do you understand by 'Bolshevism'? Account for the success of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution.
2. Describe the Soviet system (this may well be done in the form of a diagram).
3. What is 'Communism'? Account for its failure in Russia and for the substitution of the 'new economic policy'.
4. What is meant by 'Fascism'?

CHAPTER XXV

1. What were the main difficulties in the way of political 'reconstruction' after the conclusion of peace?
2. What do you consider were the most important economic effects of the First World War?
3. Discuss the relations between France and Germany from after the conclusion of peace up to 1930.
4. What do you understand by the term 'Economic Depression'? What were the main consequences of the slump which began about the end of 1929?

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Set down as many reasons as you can for the failure of the League of Nations.
2. What grounds had the Fascists and Nazis for maintaining that liberal democracy was effete and obsolete?
3. Trace as carefully as possible the steps which Hitler took to get complete control of Czechoslovakia.
4. What was the effect of the Russo-German 'Non-Aggression Pact' on the course of world history?

CHAPTER XXVII

1. How was it that the European Axis powers failed to win the Second World War before the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. came into it?
2. In what ways did superior sea-power contribute towards the victory of the Allies?

3. Why did it appear in, say, 1947 that the United Nations had a better chance of success than the League of Nations?
4. What do you understand by 'the cold war', and how do you account for its coming into being?

CHAPTER XXVIII

1. What is meant by saying that the British Empire has been turned into the Commonwealth of Nations?
2. Why is it that the Union of South Africa has had a much more stormy history than the Commonwealth of Australia?
3. What federations are there in the Commonwealth of Nations? Take any one of them, and try to explain why you think its people preferred a federal to a unitary form of government.
4. In what ways did the manner of achieving independence differ in India and in Ceylon? How do you account for this difference?

CHAPTER XXIX

1. Why has it been easier to maintain law and order in the Republic of India than in the Republic of Indonesia?
2. How did China become a Communist country?
3. What dangers to world peace have their source in the Middle East?
4. Do you think that the United Nations ought to be a world government? What powers would it need to make it so?

INDEX

A

Abdul Hamid, 126–27, 235–36
Aborigines, 141
Abyssinia, 307, 318, 322, 339
Acre, 35
Aden, 158
Adenauer, Konrad, 331
Aegean Sea, 330
Aehrenthal, von, 235
Aeroplanes, 1, 28, 219, 259
Afghanistan, 112, 154, 158, 163, 291
Africa, 2, 5, 6, 122, 169–77, 307, 321–34, 338, 350 (*See also* under headings of separate countries)
Afrikander Bond, 150
Agadir, 233, 236
Agriculture, 19–20, 137–38, 143–44, 146, 162, 176–78, 201, 206, 213
Aisne, 247
Alaska, 138, 203
Albania, 121, 269, 316, 329
Albert, Prince Consort, 79
Alberta, 135, 138
Alexander I, Czar of Russia, 46–49
Alexander II, Czar of Russia, 116–17
Alexander III, Czar of Russia, 117
Alfonso, King, 309
Algeciras, 233
Algeria, 60, 170, 233, 362
Ali of Janina, 123
Allenby, General, 253, 258
Alsace, 59–60, 109, 222, 228, 267, 295
Alsace-Lorraine, 295
America (*See* United States of America)
American Constitution, 198, 263
Amritsar, 166
Anarchism, 69
Annam, 189
Anti-Comintern Pact, 308, 317
Antwerp, 63, 246
Anzac, 252
Apartheid, 339
Arabia, 5, 122, 158, 269, 360
Arabi Pasha, 173
Arabs, 358–61
Arctic Sea, 251
Arkwright, Sir Richard, 20
Armed Neutrality, 38
Armistice (1918), 258, 263
Arya Samaj, 163
Asia, 2, 5, 112, 116, 119, 325–28, 332, 354–57 (*See also* under headings of different countries)
Asia Minor, 122, 269, 291
Asian Labour, 144
Atlantic Charter, 323
Atom Bombs, 328, 331
Atomic Energy, 22–23, 138
Aurungzeb, 5
Austerlitz, 38
Australia, 130, 132, 141–45, 180, 252, 270, 322, 327, 333
Austria, 4, 14, 34, 37, 38, 42, 46–55, 62, 63, 69–71, 75, 90–98, 100–10, 115, 121, 122, 126–27, 223–58, 267, 269, 271, 292–93, 302, 307, 314, 318, 325, 330, 332, 338
Austrian Succession, War of, 3

B

Bacteriology, 211
Baden, 104–10
Baghdad, 235–37, 253, 258
Baghdad Pact, 333
Baker, Sir Samuel White, 172
Bakewell, Thomas, 20
Balaclava, battle of, 115
Balance of Power, 222–31, 266, 294
Balkans, 5, 66, 114, 121–29, 222–28, 233–58

Baluchistan, 163
Bandung Conference, 333
Banerjee, Sir S., 165
Bank of England, 299
Bank of France, 37
Bantus, 147, 149, 339–40
Bastille, 12
Basutos, 149
Batavian Republic, 34
Bavaria, 104–10, 296
Belgium, 62, 63, 68, 105, 108, 174, 239, 241, 243–62, 267, 270–71, 320
Bell, Alexander Graham, 29
Bengal, 155, 158, 165, 344
Berchtold, Count, 240
Berlin, 70, 116, 124, 125, 174, 223, 235, 237, 325, 330
Berlin, Congress of, 116, 122–26, 235
Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, 308
Bernadotte, Marshal, 42
Bessarabia, 125, 269
Bessemer, Sir Henry, 22
Bethlen, Stephen, Count, 295
Bismarck, Prince, 96, 101–10, 115, 170, 223–25
Blockade, 40, 243
Boers, 147–51, 227
Bohemia, 53, 70, 103, 267, 291
Bolivar, Simon, 64
Bolshevik Russia, 288
Bolshevism, 269, 277–86, 288
Bombay, 154
Borneo, 354
Bosnia, 121, 126–27, 235, 240
Botany Bay, 141
Botha, General, 151
Bourgeois, Léon, 272
Boxers (in China), 190
Brahmins, 153, 159
Brahmo, Samaj, 163
Brazil, 54, 64, 273
Breslau, the, 248
Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of, 277
Brindley, James, 27
Bristol, 58
Britain, Battle of, 321
British Caribbean Federation, 352
British Columbia, 135, 137
British Empire (*See* Commonwealth of Nations)
Brown, George, 135
Brown, John, 204
Browning, Robert, 81
Buddhists, 153, 154
Bulgaria, 121, 125–27, 235–243, 249, 251–52, 258, 267, 290, 329
Buller, Charles, 133
Bund (German), 50, 100, 102–06
Buonaparte, Joseph, 40, 64
Buonaparte, Napoleon (*See* Napoleon)
Burma, 158, 323, 327–28, 349
Bushmen, 147
Bushrangers, 142
Byron, Lord, 124

C

Calcutta, 154, 155
California, 203
Cambodia, 179–80, 357
Cameroons, 249, 270, 351
Camperdown, 35
Canada, 7–8, 20, 130, 132–39, 145, 146, 150, 169, 198, 205, 332, 337–38
Canada Act, 133
Canadian Pacific Railway, 137
Canals, 27
Canberra, 144
Canning, George, 54, 64
Capital, 24
Cape of Good Hope, Cape Colony, 34, 57, 62, 146–51, 169 (*See also* South Africa)
Cape Province, 151
Cape Town, 147
Carbonari, 90
Carnatic, 154
Carnot, Lazare, 33
Cartier, Jacques, 135
Cartwright, Edmund, 20
Castlereagh, Lord, 46, 57, 59
Catalonia, 309
Catherine II, 114
Catholicism, 59, 62, 65, 91, 104, 112, 309
Caucasus, 112
Cavour, Count, 91–96
Cecil, Lord Robert, 272
Celebes, 353
Central America, 6, 207
Central Powers, 243–62, 271, 285
Ceylon, 7, 34, 57, 84, 130, 168, 169, 178–79, 183, 327, 342, 347–48

Chamberlain, Neville, 315, 320
Chandragupta, 154
Chang-tso-lin, 194
Channel, English, 319, 320, 321
Charles X, 60
Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, 91
Chartist Movement, 73–75
Cheka, 278
Chesapeake, the, 200
Chiang Kai-shek, 194–95, 327, 355, 363
Chicago, 206
China, 5, 177, 184–85, 187–95, 206, 219, 243, 285, 291, 305–07, 318, 327, 355–56, 363
Chloroform, 211
Chungking, 307
Churchill, Sir Winston, 320, 321, 329, 334
Civil War, American, 203–05
Clemenceau, Georges, 264, 272
Clive, Robert, 7, 155, 157
Coal, 142
Coalitions (during Napoleonic War), 33–45
Cobbett, William, 57
Code Napoléon, 37
Colonial Office, 158, 336–37
Colombia, 64
Colombo, 179
Comintern, 284–85
Committee of Public Safety, 15
Commonwealth Office, 337
Commonwealth of Nations, 130–32, 139–40, 151–52, 167, 243, 269, 319–34, 335–53
Commune of Paris, 15
Communism, 69, 278–85, 288, 297–98, 305, 329–30, 331–32, 355–56
Communists, 193–94, 311
Concert of Europe, 48, 232
Confederate States of America, 204
Congo, 174
Congresses (European), 42, 46–67, 112, 116, 125, 146, 174, 223, 263–75
Congress, Indian National, 164–65
Conscription, 139, 145, 245
Conservatism, 82–86, 135, 138, 320
Constantinople, 114, 120, 124–27, 234–35, 237, 251, 258, 322
Consulate, The, 36
Continental System, 38
Convicts, 141
Cook, James, 8, 141, 145
Co-operative Societies, 84
Copenhagen, 38
Copper, 142
Copra, 180
Coral Sea, Battle of, 327
Corday, Charlotte, 15
Corn Duties (or Laws), 75
Cornwallis, Lord, 155, 157
Corsica, 34, 37
Covenant of League of Nations, 272
Crete, 124, 322
Crimean War, 72, 78, 94, 113
Croats, 121, 269
Cromer, Lord, 173
Crompton, Samuel, 20
Custozza, 91
Cyprus, 126
Czechoslovakia, 267, 290, 295, 303, 314–18, 329

D

Daimios, 187
Daimler, Gottlieb, 28
Dalhousie, Lord, 160
Danton, Georges, 15, 33
Danzig, 267, 315–16
Dardanelles, 251
Dawes, General, 293
Denmark, 65, 66, 67, 70, 102, 103, 267, 320
Detroit, 206
Diamonds, 149, 340
Dickens, Charles, 81
Dictatorship, 279–87
Directory, 16
Disarmament Conference, 313
Disraeli, Benjamin, 83, 126, 173
Djakarta, 354
Dollfuss, Engelbert, 314
Dominions (*See* Commonwealth of Nations)
Dual Alliance, 225, 239
Duma, the, 118
Dunkirk, 320
Dupleix, Joseph François, 7
Durham, Lord, 133, 145

Dutch (*See* Holland)
Dutch East India Company, 146
Dutch East Indies, 323

E

East Africa, 166, 321, 330, 351
East India Company, 155–61, 177
Ebert, Friedrich, 285, 296
Education, Progress of, 216–18
Egypt, 35, 37, 124, 173–74, 176–77, 236, 269, 270, 321, 322, 324, 359–61, 364
Einstein, Albert, 312
Eisenhower, Dwight, 332
El Alamein, Battle of, 325
Elba, 42
Elizabeth I, Queen, 131
Elizabeth II, Queen, 337, 346
Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 160
Empress Dowager of China, 190–91, 192
England (*See* Great Britain)
Entente Cordiale, 228–29
Estonia, 119, 267
Europe, 294–95, 300, 304, 319, 323, 325, 331, 332, 338
Evangelical Movement, 81

F

Falkland Islands, 248
Far East, 300, 305–07
Farouk, King, 360
Fascism, 289, 298
Fascists, 286–87
Federal System, 65, 135, 145, 198
Feisul, Emir, 291
Ferdinand of Bulgaria, 127, 235
Finland, 112, 119, 267, 303, 320, 322
Five Year Plan, 282
Foch, Marshal, 256
Formosa, 188, 190, 355, 363
Fourteen Points, 263–66, 272
Fox, Charles James, 12
France, and French, *See* under separate topics, and especially 9–17, 33–43, 59–62, 71–73, 95, 166, 170, 222–23, 232–62, 296–98, 303, 307, 308, 309, 311, 314–17, 319–34
Franchise (*See* Reform of Parliament)
Francis Joseph, Emperor, 71, 106, 234, 237
Franco, General, 309, 310
Frankfort-on-Main, 70, 104
Franz-Ferdinand, Archduke, 240
Frederick II, 52
Frederick William IV, 100
Free Trade, 75, 83, 166, 169, 181
French, General, 245
French Revolution (of 1789), 2, 9–17, 57, 68, 278
French Revolution (of 1830), 60, 68
French Revolution (of 1848), 62, 68, 71, 72, 90, 198
Friendly Societies, 84
Fuh-Kien, 190
Führer, Der (*See* Hitler)

G

Gaeta, 95
Galicia, 53, 267
Gallipoli, 251–52
Gambetta, Léon, 109
Gambia, 351–52
Games, 217–18
Gandhi, Mahatma, 166, 342, 347
Gapon, Father, 118
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 92–99
Geneva, 65, 271, 272, 293
George I, 104
George III, 78, 132, 196
George IV, 78
George VI, 344
Germans, Germany, *See* under heading of topics, and under Prussia, and especially 41–44, 49, 50–52, 63, 66, 68–70, 100–11, 169–70, 173–80, 182, 222–30, 232–242, 243–62, 263–75, 284, 287, 293–99, 303–5, 307, 309–18, 319–34, 337
German East Africa, 172, 249, 270
German South-West Africa, 151, 172, 249, 270
Gestapo, 311
Ghana, 130, 131, 351–52
Gibraltar, 169
Girondins, 14
Gladstone, William Ewart, 83, 86, 125, 149

Goebbels, Paul, 325
Goeben, the, 248
Goering, Hermann, 311, 313
Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 165
Goldfields, 138, 142, 150, 203, 340
Gordon, General, 173
Government of India Act, 166
Governor-General, 155, 344, 346
Great Britain, *See* under special topics, and especially 4, 15, 30, 45, 57–59, 73–75, 78–89, 172–83, 227–31, 239–42, 243–62, 280, 283, 297, 299–300, 319–34, 335–53, 358–65
Great War (*See* World War I)
Greece, 57, 66, 121–29, 237–39, 252, 258, 269, 290, 291, 322, 332
Greek Orthodox Church, 112, 114, 283
Greeks, Ancient, 3
Grey, Earl, 58
Grey, Sir Edward, 241
Grey, Sir George, 142, 145, 147
Griquas, 149
Guiana, 64
Guillotine, 15

H

Hague, Hague Conference, 232, 273
Haidarabad, 158, 345
Haile Selassie, 308
Hamilton, Alexander, 198
Hanover, 104
Hargreaves, James, 20
Hastings, Warren, 7, 155
Hawaii, 180, 206, 323
Hedjaz, 269
Heligoland, 57
Helvetic Republic, 35
Herzegovina (*See* Bosnia)
Hesse-Darmstadt, 104–10
High Commissioner, 337
Hindenburg, Paul von, 249, 296, 305, 310, 312
Hinduism, 153, 160, 344–47
Hiroshima, 328
Hitler, Adolf, 287, 295, 297, 304–05, 308, 310–17, 321, 322, 323, 325
Holland, 7, 15, 57, 62, 63, 64, 102–03, 132, 141, 145, 146, 178, 185, 232, 273, 303, 320, 339
Holstein, 70
Holy Alliance, 46, 48, 55
Home Rule, 339
Hongkong, 177, 185, 323
Hottentots, 147
Hudson's Bay Company, 136
Hugo, Victor, 104
Humanitarian ideals, 213–16
Hungary, 53, 70–71, 106, 121, 267, 294, 295, 307, 315, 325, 329, 365 (*See also* Austria)
Hydrogen Bombs, 30, 260-61
Hygiene, 210–18

I

Ibn Saud, 269
Immigration, 142
Imperial Conference, 336
Independence, War of American, 131–32
India, 5, 7, 78, 112, 126, 130, 131, 132, 153–68, 169, 173, 177, 219, 284, 291, 322, 327, 330, 339, 341, 342–47, 348, 349, 351
Indians, Red, 202
Indies, East, 54, 131, 291
Indies, West, 54, 131, 169, 200
Indo-China, 190, 323, 357
Indonesia, 63, 179–80, 333, 354
Industrial Revolution, 2, 6, 19–32, 52, 83, 202
International Brigade, 309
International Court of Justice, 363
International Justice, Permanent Court of, 272, 273
International Labour Organization, 272, 273, 363
International Settlement, 307
Inventions, 20
Ionian Islands, 57
Iran (*See* Persia)
Iraq, 333, 360
Ireland, 35, 75, 202, 340–41
Irish Republic, 319, 332, 340–41
Islam (*See* Mohammedans)
Ismail (Khedive), 173
Israel, 359–60, 364
Italy, 34–35, 52–54, 70–71, 90–99, 182, 225–28, 236, 251, 267, 272, 273, 287–88, 302, 303, 307–08, 309–10, 318, 319–34, 339 (*See also* under separate topic headings)

Italian Somaliland, 308
Ito, Marquis, 187
Iwo Jima, 327

J

Jacobins, 14, 15
Jameson, Dr., 150, 224
Japan, 5, 63, 116, 117, 177, 180, 182, 185–92, 195, 206–07, 210, 219, 227, 243, 249, 270, 272, 273, 292, 302, 305–07, 308, 318, 319–34, 338, 342, 349, 354, 356
Java, 179, 354
Jehol, 306
Jellacic, Count, 71
Jellicoe, Admiral, 248
Jena, 38
Jenghiz Khan, 35
Jerusalem, 253
Jews, 114, 117, 311–13, 358, 361, 364
Jinnah, Mohammed, 344
Joffre, Marshal, 247
Johannesburg, 150
Johnson, Amy, 219
Jordan, 359

K

Kandy, 178
Kaffirs, 147
Kashmir, 346
Kenya, 173, 176, 321–22, 351
Kerensky, Alexander, 277
Khartoum, 173
Kiao-chau, 193, 249
Kiel, 248; Canal, 239
Kikuyu, 351
Kitchener, Lord, 256
Kluck, Gen., von, 247
Koch, Robert, 211
Königgrätz, 103
Korea, 188, 191, 192, 356–57, 363, 364
Kossuth, Louis, 71
Kruger, Paul, 150
Kulak, 282
Kuomintang, 192–94

L

Labour, 24
Laos, 179–80, 357
Latvia, 119, 267
League of Nations, 48, 65, 139, 145, 174, 180, 181–82, 207, 263, 267, 271–73, 290, 296, 302–09, 313–14, 315, 318
Lebanon, 358–59
Lebensraum, 313
Leipzig, 42
Lend-Lease, 323
Lenin, 277–84, 288
Leningrad, 118, 323
Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, King of the Belgians, 63
Leopold II, King of the Belgians, 174
Lottow von Vorbeck, Gen., 249
Liao-Tung, 188, 189, 192
Liberalism, 48, 52, 55, 59, 68–77, 82–86, 91, 100–11, 135, 138, 276–77, 320
Liberal Socialists, 309–10
Liberation, War of, 41, 50
Libya, 362
Liège, 245
Li Hung Chang, 188
Lincoln, Abraham, 199, 203–05
Lister, Lord, 211
Lithuania, 119, 267, 290
Little Entente, 291, 293, 297
Livingstone, David, 172
Lloyd George, David, 264, 266, 292
Lobengula, 149
Lombardy, 53, 91–95
London, 299
Lords, House of, 58
Lorraine, 60, 109, 222, 228, 263, 267, 296
Louis XIV, 146
Louis XV, 9
Louis XVI, 9 11, 14, 15, 59
Louis XVII, 59
Louis XVIII, 59, 60
Louis Napoleon (*See* Napoleon III)
Louis Philippe, 60, 62, 71, 72
Louisiana, 200
Louvain, 247
Luftwaffe, 321
Luxembourg, 106, 330

M

MacArthur, General, 330
Macdonald, John Alexander, 135

MacDonald, Ramsay, 299
Macedonia, 126–27
Machinery, 19
Mackensen, August von, 252, 253
Madagascar, 170
Madras, 154
Madrid, 309
Magenta, 95
Maginot Line, 297, 319
Mahdi, 173
Malacca, 349
Malan, Daniel, 340
Malaya, 130, 131, 177, 323, 349–50
Malta, 57
Manchukuo, 306
Manchuria, 189, 191, 195, 305–06, 317
Mandated Territories, 145, 174, 180, 269, 358–59
Manin, Daniel, 92
Manitoba, 135
Maoris, 145–46
Mao Tse-Tung, 355
Marat, Jean Paul, 15
Marathas, 5, 154, 157
Marconi, Guglielmo, 29
Marie Antoinette, 9
Mark (German), 296
Marne, 247
Marx, Karl, 69, 280, 284
Matabele, 149
Maude, General, 253
Mau-Mau, 351
Mauritius, 57
Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, 105
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 90–94
McAdam, John Loudon, 26
Medicine, Science of, 210–16
Mediterranean Sea, 321
'Mein Kampf', 304, 310, 311, 317
Melbourne, Lord, 79
Mensheviks, 276–77
Mesopotamia, 122, 166, 252–53, 269–70, 291
Messina, Straits of, 95
Metcalf, John, 26
Metternich, Prince, 46, 53, 70
Mexico, 105, 203, 273
Middle East, the, 358–61
Midway, battle of, 327
Mikado, 185, 187
Mines (in warfare), 248
Missionary work, 82, 160, 185, 191
Modena, 53, 95
Mogul Emperors, 154, 155, 159
Mohammedans (or Muslims), 5, 7, 121, 153, 154, 173, 233, 291, 344–47, 354
Moldavia, 121, 125
Moltke, Count von, 103–09
Mongolians, 112, 121, 125
Monroe Doctrine, 200–01
Mons, 245
Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 166
Montenegro, 121, 125–27, 269
Montreal, 132
Morley-Minto Reforms, 165
Morocco, 233, 362
Morse, Samuel Finley, 29
Moscow, 281, 323
Motor Cars, 28
Mountbatten, Admiral, 327, 344, 346
Munich Settlement, 315
Munro, Sir Thomas, 160
Murat, Marshal, 53
Mustapha Kemal, 291
Mussolini, Benito, 288, 307–08, 310, 314, 325
Mutsuhito, 187
Mysore, 157

N

Nagasaki, 328
Nanking, 194, 307
Naples, 53, 90–96
Napoleon I, 16, 23, 33–45, 48, 49, 57, 58, 62, 72, 90, 115
Napoleon III, 71–72, 92–98, 103–09
Nasser, Colonel, 361
Natal, 147, 151, 339
Nationality, Nationalism, 43, 48, 52, 55, 59, 62, 68–77, 119, 163
National Assembly, French, 12–14
National Government, 299
National Socialists, 303–04
Navarino, Bay of, 124
Navarre, 309
Nazi Revolution, 303–05; 'Nazis', 304–05, 310–17, 325
Necker, Jacques, 11
Needle-gun, 101, 103, 108
Neguib, General, 360

Nehru, Jawaharlal, 261, 333, 342, 344, 347
Nelson, Lord, 35, 38
Netherlands, 53
Neutrality, Belgian, 63, 241
Neuve-Chapelle, 256
New Brunswick, 135
New Guinea, 145, 180, 324, 327, 338
New South Wales, 141–45
New York, 298
New Zealand, 130, 145–46, 252, 270, 322, 333, 338
Newfoundland, 132, 135
Newton, Sir Isaac, 19
Ney, Marshal, 60
Nice, 95
Nicholas I, 116
Nicholas II, 117
Nigeria, 130, 172, 351–52
Nobility, French, 11
Nonconformists, 59
North Africa, 321, 322, 330, 338, 339, 361–62
North America (*See* under Canada, United States, Mexico, *also* under headings of Topics)
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 332
North German Confederation, 104–10
North-West Mounted Police, 138
Norway, 65, 66, 320
Nova Scotia, 132, 135
Novara, 91
Nyasaland, 350

O

Oil Power, 19, 22, 27–28
Oise, 247
Okinawa, 327
Olympic Games, 219
Ontario, 132, 133, 136
Opium, 185
Orange Free State, 147–51
Orange, Prince of, 62
Oregon Treaty, 109
Orlando, Signor, 264
Osman Pasha, 125
Oudh, 160
Outer Mongolia, 306
Owen, Robert, 69
Oxford Movement, 81

P

Pacific Ocean, 323, 324, 325–28
Pakistan, 130, 333, 344–47, 348
Palestine, 35, 234, 252, 269, 270, 358–59
Palmerston, Lord, 65
Panama, 207
'Panch Shila', 333
Paper, 138
Paris, 12, 14, 62, 104, 109, 245, 264, 332
Parma, 53, 95
Parsees, 153
Pasteur, Louis, 211
Pearl Harbour, 323
Peking, 191
Penang, 349
Peninsular War, 38–42
Perry, Commodore, 187
Persia, 112, 235, 252, 291, 333
Pescadores, 188
Pétain, Marshal 321
Philadelphia, 198
Philippine Islands, 54, 180, 190, 206, 323, 327, 354–55
Piedmont, 53, 91, 96
Pitt, William, 38, 133
Pius IX (Pope), 91–96
Plevna, 125
Poincaré, Raymond, 297
Poison gas, 256, 258
Poland, 34, 49, 53, 102, 112, 119, 267, 290, 295, 317–18, 319, 329
Polish Succession, War of, 3
Pope, the, 53, 91–98
Port Arthur, 189, 192
Portugal, 7, 54, 64, 178, 319
Portuguese East Africa, 249–51
Prasad, Rajendra, 345, 347
Prince Edward Island, 132
Privy Council, Judicial Committee of, 136
Prohibition, 219
Proletariat, 279–80
Protection, 73, 182, 201, 206
Protectorates, 130, 341
Protestants, 146
Prussia, 14, 38, 41, 42, 46, 49, 50, 52, 60, 63, 69–70, 96, 100–11, 115, 223–24, 267
Punjab, 158, 163, 166

Q

Quadruple Alliance, 48
Quebec, 132, 135
Queensland, 142–45

R

Radium, 212
Railways, 27, 119
Raiyat, 158–59
Rajagopalacharya, Sri, 346
Ranjit Singh, 158
Rationing, 254
Reconstruction (First World War), 291–94
Reform of Parliament, 57, 58, 73–75, 80, 85–86
Reichstag, 224
Reign of Terror, 14, 15, 33, 278
Renaissance or Rebirth of Learning, 2
Reparations, War, 270
Representative Government, 133
Responsible Government, 133, 144, 146
Revolution (of 1688), 4
Revolution, German (of 1848), 69–70, 100
Revolution, Italian (of 1848), 91–92; Fascist, 286–87
Revolution, Russian, 276–78
Revolutionary Tribunal, 15
Rhine, Rhineland, 270, 296, 314, 318
Rhodes, Cecil, 149–50
Rhodesia, 130, 150, 350
Rising of 1857, India, 160–61
Roads, 26–27
Robespierre, Maximilien, 15
Rochdale, 84
'Rocket', The, 25, 27
Roehm, Ernst, 311
Rome, 91–98, 104, 325
Roon, Count von, 101, 103
Roosevelt, Franklin, 299, 323, 329
Roosevelt, Theodore, 192
Rorke's Drift, 149
Roumania, 106, 120, 125, 127, 237–39, 253, 263, 266, 269, 271, 291, 325, 329
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 9
Royal Air Force (British), 321, 325
Ruhr, the, 296–97, 304
Russell, Lord John, 58
Russia (*See* Soviet Union)

S

Saar, the, 267
Sadowa, 103, 105
St. Helena, 42
St. Petersburg (*See* Leningrad)
Saint Sophia, 114
Saint Vincent, Battle of, 35
Sakhalin, 189, 192
Salonica, 252, 258
Samoa, 146, 180, 206, 270
Samurai, 187
Sanders, Liman von, 252
Sarajevo, 240
Sardinia, 34, 52, 53, 91–96
Saskatchewan, 135
Sati, 160
Savoy, 53, 95
Saxony, 49
Schleswig, 70, 102–3, 267
Schuschnigg, Kurt von, 315
Schwarzenberg, Prince von, 100
Science, Progress of, 19–32, 210–21
Scotland, 131, 202, 340
Scutari, 235
Sebastopol, 115
Sedan, 109
Senanayake, Don, 348
Senanayake, Dudley, 348
Serbia, 121–29, 234–41, 249, 252, 269
Seven Years War, 132
Shanghai, 194, 306–07
Shannon, the, 200
Shantung, 189, 193
Sheep, 142, 146
Shivaji, 154
Shogun, 185–87
Siam (*See* Thailand)
Sicily, 53, 91, 95–96, 324
Siegfried Line, 314
Siemens, Sir William, 22
Sierra Leone, 351–52
Sikhs, 158
Silver, 142
Simpson, Sir James Young, 211
Sind, 158
Singapore, 177–78, 323, 349
Sinhalese, 178–79, 348

Sinn Fein, 340
Slave trade, Slavery, 6, 160, 174, 196, 201–5
Slavs, 53, 106, 112–16, 121–29, 234–42, 269, 313
Slovaks, 267, 290
Smith, Sir Sidney, 35
Smuts, General, 151, 251, 269, 272, 339
Smyrna, 269
Social Reform, 210–21
Socialism, 60, 68–69, 71–72, 84, 227, 276–77, 280, 320, 342
Socialists, 283, 314
Solferino, 95
Solomon Islands, 327
Somme, river, 256
South Africa, 7, 62, 130, 146–51, 166, 227, 251, 319, 322, 338–39, 350
South African Republic, 149 (*See* Transvaal)
South America, 6–7, 64–65, 207
South Australia, 142–44
South-East Asia Command, 327, 344
South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, 333
Soviet Union, 4, 22, 26, 38, 41, 46, 49, 63, 72, 94, 102–03, 112—29, 188–93, 223, 273, 276–85, 288, 294, 296, 315, 316–17, 319–34, 555, 356, 362–63, 365
Spain, *See* under headings of Topics and especially 34, 38–40, 54–55, 64, 200–201, 309–10, 319, 322, 332
Spanish Civil War, 309–10, 318
Spanish Succession, War of, 3
Spanish Morocco, 309
Spee, Graf von, 248
Speke, John Hanning, 172
Spinning, 20, 21
Sports, 217–18
Stalin, 280–84, 317, 329
Stalingrad, Battle of, 324
Stanley, Sir H. M., 172
States-General, 11, 12
Statute of Westminster, 336–37
Steam-power, 18, 22
Steamships, 28
Stephenson, George, 27
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 203
Strathcona, Lord, 137
Strydom, Johannes, 339
Sturdee, Admiral, 248
Submarine warfare, 207, 253–54, 324–25
Sudan, 173, 176, 227, 270, 361
Sudetenland, 315, 318
Suez Canal, 115, 126, 173, 177, 179, 270, 360–61
Sumatra, 179, 354
Sun-yat-sen, Dr., 192, 195
Sweden, 38, 42, 290, 319, 322, 332
Switzerland, 23, 65, 247, 277, 319, 322, 332
Sydney, 141
Syria, 122, 258, 269, 270, 358–59

T

Talleyrand, M. de, 59, 60
Tamils, 178, 348
Tanganyika, 270, 351
Tannenberg, 249
Tartars, 112
Tasmania, 142–44
Telegraphy, 28–29, 119, 180
Telephony, 28–29
Television, 29
Telford, Thomas, 26
Tennis Court Oath, 12
Tennyson, Alfred, 80, 81
Territorial Army, 254
Tewfik (Khedive), 173
Thackeray, W. M., 81
Thailand, 179, 357
Thessaly, 124
Third Estate, 11, 12
Tibet, 184
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, 165
Timber, 138
Timur, 35
Tipu, of Mysore, 157
Tisza, Count, 286
Tito, Marshal, 329
Togoland, 249, 270
Tolstoy, Count Leo, 118
Tonquin, 189
Toulon, 34
Trade Unions, 24, 83–85
Trafalgar, 38
Trans-Jordania, 270
Trans-Siberian Railways, 119
Transvaal, 149–50

Transylvania, 121, 125, 269
Trek, Great, 147
Trentino, 96
Trieste, 96, 267
Trincomalee, 179
Triple Alliance, 222–31, 237
Triple Entente, 222–31, 239
Tripoli, 236, 251
Trotsky, L. D., 277, 284
Trust Territories, 130, 145, 146, 352, 362, 363
Tsars, 280, 283
Tsetse fly, 176
Tsing-Tao, 249
Tull, Jethro, 20
Tunis, 170, 225, 236
Tunisia, 324, 362
Turin, 96
Turkestan, 112
Turkey, 5, 35, 66, 112–16, 121–29, 170, 173, 176, 222, 234–62, 264–75, 291, 295, 316, 322, 332, 333
Tuscany, 53, 95
Tyrol, 53, 267

U

Uganda, 173, 351
Uitlanders, 150
Ulm, 38
Ulster, 339–40
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 203
Unitary State, 136, 146
United Empire Loyalists, 132–33
United Nations, 48, 182, 328–29, 331, 346, 356, 359–60, 361, 362–67
United States of America, 5, 8, 55, 86–88, 132, 133, 135, 136, 138, 144, 180, 181, 185, 187, 190, 192, 196–209, 219, 225, 231, 243, 245, 254, 256, 264, 271–73, 277, 280, 283, 291–92, 297, 299, 302, 303, 310, 319–34, 354–55, 360, 362–63

V

Vatican City, 96
Venice (and Venetia), 35, 53, 91–96, 104, 108
Venizelos Eleutherios, 124, 127, 252
Verdun, 247, 256
Versailles, 12, 48, 49, 109, 139, 266
Versailles, Peace Conference of, 139, 145, 146, 193, 263–75, 296–97
Viceroy, 153, 161, 344
Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, 91–99
Victoria (Colony), 142–44
Victoria, Queen, 78–89, 161, 346
Victorian Age, 78–89
Vienna, 235, 314, 330
Vienna, Congress of, 42, 46–56, 57, 59–66, 112
Viet-Minh, 357
Vietnam, 179, 357
Virginia, 204
Vladivostok, 189
Volga, river, 324
Voltaire, 9
Votes for Women, 218–19

W

Wakefield, Gibbon, 133, 145
Wallachia, 121, 125
Warfare, Modern, 29–30, 258–61
Warsaw, 319
Warsaw, Grand Duchy of, 49
Warsaw Pact, 331
Washington, George, 198, 199
Waterloo, 42
Watt, James, 19, 22
Weaving, 20–22
Wei-hai-wei, 189
Wellesley, Marquess, 157
Wellington, Duke of, 40–42, 157
West Indies (*See* British Caribbean Federation)
Western Australia, 142
Wheat, 138
Wheatstone, Sir Charles, 29
Whigs, 58
William I, German Emperor, 100–111
William II, German Emperor, 225–27, 233–35, 258, 285
William IV, King of England, 79

Wilson, Woodrow, 207, 263–66, 271
Wireless, 28–29, 181
Women's Movement, 218–19
Wool, 144, 337
World War I, 71, 86, 96, 119, 128, 138–39, 144–45, 146, 165–66, 174, 176, 193, 207, 218, 222, 243–62, 276, 295, 296, 304, 305, 335, 340, 342, 348
World War II, 8, 30, 49, 63, 88, 119, 178, 180, 192, 223, 240, 259–60, 262, 271, 287, 288, 295, 297–98, 305, 307, 318, 319–34, 335, 337, 338, 339, 341, 342, 348, 349, 352, 356, 359, 360
Wright, Wilbur, 28
Wurtemberg, 104

X

X-Rays, 212

Y

Yang-tze-Kiang, 190
Young Italy, 90–91
Young Turks, 235, 236
Ypres, 256
Yuan-shi-Kai, 192
Yugoslavia, 270, 291, 294, 329, 332

Z

Zionism, 357
Zollverein, 52, 100
Zulus, 149, 150

PRINTED BY PURNELL AND SONS, LTD.
PAULTON (SOMERSET) AND LONDON